Pornography awareness: A process of engagement with Northern Territory Indigenous communities

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www.aic.gov.au

Ethics approval no. PO133

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Acknowledgements

Acronyms

ACC	Australian Crime Commission
AGD	Attorney-General's Department
AIC	Australian Institute of Criminology
CAAC	Central Australian Aboriginal Congress
NAPCAN	National Association for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect
NIITF	National Indigenous Violence and Child Abuse Intelligence Task Force
NTER	Northern Territory Emergency Response
NT Justice	Northern Territory Department of Justice
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
STI	sexually transmitted infection

Executive summary

In 2007, concerns about the exposure of Indigenous children to pornography and links between the use of pornography and sexual abuse of children led the Northern Territory Attorney-General to approach the Northern Territory Department of Justice (NT Justice) about developing a media classification awareness and education campaign for Indigenous communities. NT Justice undertook a series of consultations, particularly with Indigenous men, across the Northern Territory. These consultations provided input into the messages to be delivered through the campaign, the appropriate target audiences, critical success factors, risks and sensitivities, and the development of a communications strategy. With funding from the Australian Government, a campaign strategy involving workshops, flipcharts and facilitated discussions was developed and implemented in numerous Indigenous communities to communicate three key messages:

- It is important to know and understand the classification system that operates in Australia for film and literature and your responsibilities under that system.

- It is illegal for persons under 18 years to have access to or view any R18+ or X18+ rated film or printed material that has a restricted classification and there are penalties for illegal access. This material is considered harmful for people under the age of 18 years.

- X18+ rated material and Category 1 and Category 2 Restricted publications are banned in proscribed communities (as declared by the Federal Minister for Family and Community Services).

Alongside these messages, the workshops also sought to:

- raise awareness of parents' responsibility to protect children from exposure to pornography

- empower participants to enact these responsibilities through information and awareness

- give participants a chance to discuss issues regarding access to pornography and its potential harms, including problematic sexual behaviours that might occur in communities as a result of children's exposure to pornography

- share strategies regarding effective ways to manage children's exposure to media content and the protection of children from exposure to pornography.

An estimated 1,300 Indigenous people attended these workshops. For reasons of cultural appropriateness, and in keeping with secondary objectives identified through consultation, the workshops were predominantly developed for use with male audiences. The majority of workshops were conducted for men, with a smaller number conducted for women, using a different workshop format. The flipcharts used in the men's workshops communicated the campaign's key messages in an easily accessible manner and were left in communities as an ongoing resource. The flipcharts were developed with extensive input from Indigenous Australians as well as government and non-government organisations.

As an element of its campaign strategy, NT Justice engaged the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) to undertake a review of the education campaign. The process review undertaken by the AIC drew on evaluation and review methodologies and good practice principles from other community education and awareness campaigns. This report considers whether the NT Justice campaign had the capacity to meet its objectives and identifies improvements that could be made to this, or related campaigns, in the future. Resource and cross-cultural communication issues restricted the AIC's capacity

to engage directly with workshop participants in a way that would allow an assessment of the effectiveness of campaign outcomes.

The AIC's review concluded that the NT Justice media classification and awareness education campaign was innovative, grounded in good-practice principles and was in accordance with evidence-based criteria for the implementation of related community service programs. The campaign's capacity to meet its objectives was aided by the extensive consultations undertaken during the development phase of the campaign. These consultations, together with the open discussions facilitated within the workshops, gave Indigenous Australians important opportunities to have genuine input into the campaign and have a voice on important issues affecting communities that were not necessarily able to be discussed elsewhere. The workshops enabled participants to obtain important information about laws that govern the regulation of pornography in a culturally sensitive way. Prior to the workshop, many participants had been unaware of these laws and/or how these laws applied to them.

Feedback provided by NT Justice on the workshops suggests that the campaign has been effective in achieving its objectives of raising awareness about parents' responsibility for reducing the exposure of children to pornography. Participants of the workshops and associated initiatives have demonstrated a strong interest in the issues discussed, a strong concern about the wellbeing of children and a strong commitment to their ongoing protection. *This process review is unable to determine whether the campaign led to any change of behaviour by workshop participants or other community members, but it concludes there is at least the possibility of this being achieved.*

A feature of the NT Justice campaign was its capacity, through project staff and mode of delivery, to be flexible and adaptable to changing needs and circumstances. This was particularly important given the target audience and locations of the workshops. It was apparent that there are many unique difficulties in delivering a face-to-face education campaign to remote communities in terms of communication, organisation and ensuring attendance. The project staff demonstrated an ability

to respond to these challenges and adapt to the often changing circumstances relevant to workshop delivery. This adaptability and flexibility is a positive feature of the education initiative and the maintenance of these qualities is a prerequisite for future iterations of the program.

There are a number of ways that future iterations of the campaign can improve the capacity to meet both the stated objectives and the needs of specific communities (or elements within them) through:

- further consultation with Indigenous communities to ascertain if the program meets their specific needs
- consultation with Indigenous women to identify their specific needs. This may require the development of a women's workshop to operate alongside men's workshops, or at least implementation of workshops in all communities where workshops are undertaken for men
- extending the workshops to communities and locations not covered by the initial campaign, together with repeated workshops in communities covered in the initial campaign
- producing further information materials for ongoing retention in communities
- establishing ongoing relationships with key contacts within communities responsible for maintaining and disseminating information materials
- maintaining communication with key persons in all communities where workshops are to be held
- maintaining full and appropriate records of program development and implementation
- linking the education campaign into other related initiatives and activities
- building an evaluation methodology into program design and implementation.

The NT Justice campaign has helped to highlight a range of future directions for education and awareness campaigns to increase understanding among Indigenous Australians about issues related to pornography and sexual behaviours.

Given the scope of the NT Justice campaign, in terms of potential outcomes and its target group, it will take longer than the two year initial funding period for its outcomes to be fully achieved and

assessed. A community development project of this nature would need a longer period (perhaps five years) for the full target audience to be reached in a way that would allow awareness to be raised and attitudes and behaviours to be changed at a community level. Education, integrated with other initiatives aimed at increasing understanding about violence, sexual abuse and healthy sexual relationships will be integral to the long-term effectiveness of any strategy that aims to decrease pornography-related harms in Indigenous communities.

Background

Numerous government inquiries and commentaries indicate that there are unacceptable levels of pornography exposure among children in some Indigenous communities (Gordon, Hallahan & Henry 2002; Mullighan 2008; Robertson 1999). Widespread exposure to pornography, particularly in childhood, has been linked to the overt sexualisation of children, a breakdown in sexual norms and the manifestation of problematic sexual behaviours, including sexual violence, sex between minors and promiscuity (Wild & Anderson 2007). A number of high profile court cases in recent years involved sexual offences against children linked to the use of pornography.

In March – April 2007, Syd Stirling, then Northern Territory Attorney-General, approached NT Justice about developing an education campaign aimed at increasing understanding among Indigenous people about the Australian film and literature classification system. He proposed that the campaign would educate Indigenous people in the Northern Territory about the symbols used to classify media (eg X18+, R18+, MA15+ etc) and the factors that determine how film and literature is classified. His proposed education campaign would also carry the message that pornography can be harmful to young people who do not recognise that pornography is not 'real life behaviour' for most people.

The need for a media classification awareness education campaign was subsequently noted by the Northern Territory Board of Inquiry into the Protection of Aboriginal Children from Sexual Abuse. In their report *Ampe Akelyernemane Meke Mekarle: 'Little children are sacred'* (hereafter referred to as Wild and Anderson (2007) or the *Little children are sacred* report) they recommended (Recommendation 87) that an education campaign should be conducted to inform communities about:

- the meaning of, and the rationale for, film and television show classifications

- the prohibition contained in the Criminal Code making it an offence to intentionally expose a child under the age of 16 years to an indecent object, film, video or audio take, photograph or book

- 'the implications generally for a child's wellbeing of permitting them to watch or see such sexually explicit material' (Wild & Anderson 2007: 32).

Following the approach from Attorney-General Syd Stirling, NT Justice developed and implemented an education campaign covering the key objectives that he identified. During the implementation phase, NT Justice approached the AIC to undertake an independent review of the program. The review would assess whether the program had the capacity to meet its stated

objectives and identify areas for the improvement of the program and the management of pornography more generally.

In this report, the AIC will examine how the education campaign was developed and implemented, followed by a process review of the education initiative. The sensitive nature of the topic and the audience, and resource constraints, prevented direct consultation with workshop participants and therefore this review is principally based on information provided by NT Justice and observations of education workshops conducted in several communities. The principal purpose of the report is to examine the *process through which NT Justice developed the education campaign*, engaged with Indigenous communities and to consider whether the campaign had the capacity to meet its objectives and was in accordance with existing good practice guidelines. The review *does not evaluate the effectiveness of the program* to achieve educational outcomes, or attempt to explain if this program has contributed to behavioural changes with respect to the regulation of pornography or other sexual behaviours. Rather it provides an opportunity to examine how an education campaign might be developed and delivered in the context of remote Indigenous communities and how future community-oriented campaigns might benefit from the NT Justice experience.

Development

Funding

To support the campaign, NT Justice sought a grant of $700,000 from the Australian Government, under the 'Closing the gap on Indigenous disadvantage' initiative, to fund the education campaign over a two year period. The proposal included an agreement for ongoing participation of Commonwealth officers in the process. The proposed budget included $500,000 to fund:

- the salary for an Indigenous Support Officer for two years
- the salary for a coordination officer for one year
- travel
- training materials
- engagement of the National Association for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (NAPCAN) to provide advice and assist with delivery of the education campaign.

In September – October 2007, following consultation workshops for development of the campaign, NT Justice received a grant of $580,000 (over two years). Modifications were made to the original budget in light of changes in the workshop delivery approach. Funds not utilised in that aspect of the project were used for the employment of an additional workshop presenter and additional copies of the storyboards. A greater amount of money was expended on storyboards (flipcharts) than was initially anticipated, owing to the need to make revisions (discussed below).

Development of a suitable methodology

NT Justice established a steering committee to oversee the development and implementation process. This committee included representatives from NT Justice, the then Family and Children's Services Division of NT Department of Health and Families (re-named in 2008 as NT Families and Children (NTFC)), NT Department of Health and Families, NT Department of the Chief Minister, NT Police and the NT Department of Education and Training, as well as NAPCAN. A representative of the Classification Operations Branch at Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department (AGD) joined the group at a later stage. This committee later became referred to as the Reference Group.

In order to meet the stated objectives, NT Justice adopted a two-stage approach to design and implementation. The initial stage, involving extensive consultation with key stakeholders, informed the development of a suitable methodology. The second stage involved delivery of the program.

During the development phase, the government and non-government sectors were consulted formally and informally to raise awareness about the project and to seek input regarding program development and implementation. It was clear that the approach adopted would differ from typical educational strategies used by AGD to increase awareness about media classification, which typically relied on fact sheets targeted at parents, teachers, students, schools and libraries, classification notices at cinemas, retailers and rental outlets, and televised 'infomercials'.

During the early phase of program development, Charlie King, from the NT Family and Community Services Advisory Council, was approached to become an 'ambassador' for the project. Mr King is a local, respected Indigenous man, who is well known across the community for his prominent roles in sport and community service. He has been actively involved in issues relating to child abuse and family violence, including as a member of the NT's Child Protection Review Team. In the NT Justice project Mr King's role was to engage Indigenous men to talk about the need for the education campaign and seek their input into its design, in the context of broader issues of men's roles in helping stop violence and abuse.

Following these initial discussions and consultations, it was decided that a series of consultative workshops would be held in major centres across the Northern Territory involving Indigenous communities and organisations with extensive experience of working with the communities.

Consultation workshops

In August 2007, five workshops were conducted across the Northern Territory at Alice Springs, Tennant Creek, Katherine, Darwin and Nhulunbuy. In each of these centres the Project team was supported by local NT Police. NT Justice used a flyer (see Appendix A) to advertise the workshop and invite participation.

The workshops involved stakeholders, which included representatives from the Northern Territory and Australian Government agencies, the non-government sector and various Indigenous organisations. Participants discussed how the

campaign could be developed, conducted and presented in ways that took into account the needs of people in remote Indigenous communities.

The consultation workshops included two main components:

- an introduction of the organising team and in some cases, the local supporting police officer, followed by a series of background presentations from members of team

- a group discussion in which participants were asked to put forward thoughts and considerations, arising from their own experience and expertise, about how the objectives of the campaign could best be achieved.

These components are discussed in further detail below.

Presentations

Introduction—presenters provided background on how the perceived need for the campaign originated, noting the recommendations of the *Little children are sacred* report and NT Justice's commitment to the issue. This was followed by an overview of the anticipated two-stage process for program development, in which the workshop participants formed the first stage of the consultation process. The second stage was described as including the involvement and participation of men's groups and engagement of key community-based health and social service.

The Australian Classification System—a presentation was given on how media (including movies, published materials and computer games) are classified. This included a discussion on the purpose and process of classification, the role of the Classification Board and the classifications and markings used for Australian media. 'Refused classification' materials were also discussed, along with the legal restrictions that relate to pornography. The AGD representative from the steering committee was present at all workshops to clarify issues in relation to the classification of media and the role of the Classification Board.

Police-related matters—the local police representative discussed policing issues around pornography and sexual abuse. The misuse of

pornography was discussed and the regulation of pornography in the Northern Territory, noting that this was just prior to the implementation of the Australian Government's Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER), which included the banning of pornography in affected communities.

Impacts of pornography—information was presented on the physical, emotional, social and spiritual impact of pornography on children and young people, the impact of pornography on families and how pornography could influence attitudes towards women and children. Information was presented on potential program components that could assist in reducing access to pornography, its impact and harm, including:

- sex education for young people to learn about healthy sexual relationships and responsibilities associated with parenthood

- protective behaviours—but not in isolation from adult programs

- healing for adults to better respond to children and young people

- training and education for all staff who work with children

- education on parents' responsibilities to protect children from pornography

- community-wide education processes—multimedia, workshops, community forums and community based trained educators.

Roles and responsibilities—Charlie King discussed the roles and responsibilities of men and women in Indigenous communities and provided feedback on consultations with Indigenous men across the Northern Territory.

Group discussion

Following the presentations, participants discussed design and delivery of the education campaign, with particular consideration given to its target audience of traditionally-oriented Aboriginal people living in remote communities. The factors discussed included:

- other individuals or organisations who could or should be involved in delivery and implementation

- which groups of community-based workers were best placed to deliver training about pornography

- the target audience—whether it should be children, young people, parents and extended families, men, traditional owners, service providers who work with children, council or external visiting agencies

- how to achieve whole-of-community involvement

- ideas for multimedia resource development.

Participants were invited to speak about issues in their district, and what was happening in other districts, and to talk about all the different ways of changing the negative impact of pornography. Participants were also invited to have ongoing participation in the campaign as a reference group acting in an advisory capacity.

These consultative workshops proved to be important to NT Justice from a number of perspectives. It is worth noting that the consultation workshops occurred after the establishment of the Australian Crime Commission's (ACC's) National Indigenous Violence and Child Abuse Intelligence Task Force (NIITF). One of the objectives of the NIITF was to collect information regarding how pornography was being supplied and viewed within communities prior to the bans on pornography in proscribed communities. The workshops facilitated by NT Justice provided insight into the ways in which pornography was being accessed within communities, the level of children's exposure to pornography and the existence of non-classified and refused classification material in communities. The workshops highlighted that pornography was commonly transmitted by, and stored on, mobile phones. Workshop participants also discussed an instance where a specific house had been set up for viewing pornography and how pornography was being used by young people as a method of sex education, both self directed and in the context of 'instruction' by older males.

The consultation workshops also provided firsthand evidence of how Indigenous people perceived the harms of pornography and problematic sexual behaviours more generally. Of particular concern to participants was the sexualisation of young boys and girls. The latter not uncommonly manifested in the trading of sex for favours (eg for small returns like biscuits, cigarettes etc), young girls approaching older men for sex and boys searching out girls 'almost ready for sex'. Participants discussed how

this impacted on the broader community. As an example, there were impacts for non-Indigenous professionals in communities when children displayed sexualised behaviours towards them (eg copying 'sexy' dance moves seen on music video clips). While many of the same issues had been raised in the *Little children are sacred* report, the consultation workshops enabled NT Justice to be confident that there was genuine concern within individual communities about pornography and provided further impetus and justification for an education campaign.

More generally, discussions about pornography and problematic sexual behaviours during the workshops highlighted the additional need for sex education for adults, young people and children, as well as programs that more generally encouraged healthy and respectful relationships between males and females. It also became evident during the course of the consultation workshops that sensitivities surrounding implementation of the NTER, including offence taken regarding the erection of signs regarding bans on pornography in proscribed communities, would require a considered approach for the development and implementation of the education campaign.

The consultative workshops were particularly beneficial in helping NT Justice identify the 'right' people to talk to. This included how to connect with elders and other key people in individual communities and other ways of developing pathways for ongoing engagement. They also provided a considerable amount of background information and identified the 'proper way' that the education campaign should be delivered in a culturally sensitive way to the Indigenous target group. This included the need for the education campaign to be sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of individual communities, ways to get over the initial barriers to communication and ways of gaining the most effective engagement with communities.

The workshops identified the need to involve both Indigenous men and women in the process, but indicated that to be culturally appropriate, separate men's and women's workshops would be needed. Participants suggested that a more informed community, confident in its collective understanding

of the classification scheme, would be in a better position to assess the suitability of content viewed by children. However, it was noted that some families and communities may have constraints on their capacity to stop pornography in the home because of the cultural and family status of the person wanting to watch pornography.

Minutes of the meetings showed that the group felt men's-only forums would be critically important. The group suggested that men often did not feel comfortable talking freely about sex and that pornography was not uncommonly used as a way for young men to learn about sex. In some cases, pornography was at times used as an instructive tool in the absence of alternative sexual awareness education. Some participants raised the issue that men often felt powerless to look after their families and that there were fewer opportunities for men to take a lead role in this process. These participants said that Indigenous men were just as important in caring for their children as mothers, sisters, aunties and grandmothers. It was identified that one way men could take on responsibility for looking after their families was by protecting children from pornography.

Participants were able to identify a range of previously successful strategies for engaging and educating communities, such as using Indigenous language songs, linking to sporting activities, using electronic media and posters, and using a 'train the trainer' approach. It was recommended that any 'train the trainer' approach utilise respected members of Indigenous communities as role models.

Communications strategy

Based on the input received from the community consultation workshops and other community consultations, NT Justice developed a communications strategy. The elements of this strategy are outlined below. While this communications strategy formed the basis for the delivery of the program, it was refined to incorporate feedback received from stakeholders as the development and implementation phases evolved.

Communication objectives

The principal objectives of the campaign were to increase awareness about:

- the classification system that operates in Australia for film and literature
- the impact of R18+ and X18+ rated films and printed material on children.

Key messages

Based on the above communication objectives and the need to take into consideration the then recently implemented pornography bans in proscribed areas, there were three messages identified in the communications strategy:

- It is important to know and understand the classification system that operates in Australia for film and literature and your responsibilities under that system.
- It is illegal for persons under 18 years to have access to or view any R18+ or X18+ rated film or printed material that has a restricted classification and there are penalties for illegal access. This material is considered harmful for people under the age of 18 years.
- X18+ rated material and Category 1 and Category 2 Restricted publications are banned on proscribed communities.

It is noted that these three messages were agreed upon before undertaking the consultation workshops. While NT Justice raised the issue of the pornography bans and the implications for Indigenous communities during the education workshops, this was not a primary focus of the consultations. This is discussed in more detail below.

Target audiences

Based on feedback provided in the workshops, NT Justice decided that the primary audiences of the campaign should be residents of the targeted communities (Nguiu, Tennant Creek, Wadeye, Katherine, Elliott, Borroloola, Kalkarindji, Maningrida, Angurugu, Nhulunbuy, Ngukurr, Gunbalanya, Ti Tree, Papunya, Alice Springs, Ntaria and Darwin) and surrounding communities. Additional workshops would be held at Darwin Prison and the Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education. NT Justice indicated separate workshops would be conducted for men and women, but a particularly strong emphasis would be placed on engaging Indigenous men in the process.

Secondary audiences largely included government and non-government, Indigenous and non-Indigenous supporting organisations or agencies, such as the Project Reference group, non-government organisations (eg NAPCAN, women's shelters and patrols), government agencies and the media.

Critical success factors

Factors that were considered critical to this education strategy included:

- committed and well informed senior Indigenous men
- adequate resources—staffing and operational budget
- well informed and engaged stakeholders
- a well informed media.

Current risks and sensitivities

Factors identified in the communications strategy as potentially reducing the ability of the strategy to be effective included:

- the strategy not being culturally sensitive/ appropriate
- senior Indigenous men losing interest in, or not maintaining support for, the program
- the selection of a role model seen as inappropriate by the community, such as someone with a criminal record for a violent offence
- the short timeframe available to develop supporting material
- the classification system being amended during or after the campaign.

Strategy

The proposed communication strategy was based on the government's existing knowledge of Indigenous communications and current Indigenous communication tools. It included a range of tools and tactics to target the identified communities with specific messages:

Media launch and free media—a media launch was held at the commencement of the education campaign. A key part of this strategy included the identification of spokespeople and developing an

editorial plan for getting articles published and stories to air in local and Indigenous media. Fact sheets were prepared for the media. The fact sheets also served to inform other stakeholder groups. In keeping with principles for the development of culturally sensitive communications, mass media advertising was not recommended as part of this strategy.

Face to face communications—a group of respected Indigenous community members were identified to work as part of the community education program. The core of this group included members of the Department of the Chief Minister's Indigenous Men's Group, which had come together in the previous year, with additional senior men identified by communities. The project aimed to identify 30 to 50 senior men across the Northern Territory. It was anticipated that during 2008, the senior men would conduct the training workshops in identified communities across the Northern Territory, with the assistance of NT Justice, NAPCAN and the reference group.

Storyboards—storyboards are an illustration-based form of communication combining images with simple, clear and consistent messages. They are ideally suited to the 'train the trainer' approach to communications as the clear communication style aids the deliverer as well as the recipient of the communication.

Posters—posters would be developed and displayed in the identified communities. Work would be undertaken to determine whether it was suitable to display the posters in schools, health clinics, women's shelters and other community meeting places.

MARVIN—MARVIN is an interactive multimedia application that enables messages and characters to be tailored to specific campaigns. MARVIN has been used successfully for a number of years in Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory, particularly for health-related campaigns. A generic character and script would be developed and the script translated into Indigenous languages to enable it to be used in the targeted communities. Where appropriate, the senior men would voice the script(s) for their community.

Indigenous language songs—the development of Indigenous language songs at a community level

would encourage local input into the education campaign. However, NT Justice identified that careful consideration would need to be given as to how to drive the development of this component of the campaign. In particular, holding a competition to select the songs was seen as a high risk initiative given the issues associated with:

- setting the criteria for the songs
- determining who would judge the songs
- determining appropriate prizes for competition winners.

NT Justice noted that advice should be sought from the senior men as to whether songs were an appropriate medium for their community and whether alternative media such as art and community radio transmissions could be more appropriate.

Timing and implementation

Implementation of the communication strategy commenced in February 2008. A detailed implementation plan, including production schedule, was developed following approval of the strategy, noting that current project funding would cease in October 2009.

Review

As an element of the communications strategy, the AIC was commissioned by NT Justice to undertake a review of the education campaign.

Workshop development

Following approval of the communications strategy, a fulltime position was funded in NT Justice for an Indigenous man to oversee the development and implementation of the education campaign. The responsibilities of this position included keeping in contact with Indigenous communities to ensure that interest was maintained in the project, organising and presenting the men's workshops, as well as undertaking all NT Justice duties associated with the project (eg fielding enquiries, giving presentations to other organisations, informing other government policy, reporting to government committees etc). An additional Indigenous man was subsequently employed to present workshops and partnered

in fulfilling the additional duties. A female representative from NAPCAN, who was engaged in the development phase of the education campaign, was contracted to deliver workshops for women.

Men's meetings and the Senior Indigenous Men's Advisory Group

While the education campaign would include and benefit all members of the Indigenous community, the engagement of men, as noted above, was identified to be particularly important in this phase of the education campaign. It was hoped that through the education campaign, strong Indigenous men would take an active role in engaging other Indigenous men in the community in this process, possibly delivering the campaign to other men in their community. Therefore, additional measures were implemented in order to engage Indigenous men in the process.

Charlie King facilitated 32 meetings with Indigenous men in communities across the Northern Territory between November 2007 and March 2008. These meetings, which largely took place within individual communities, covered a broad range of issues such as family issues, child sex abuse and family violence, in addition to children's exposure to pornography.

Mr King's approach to these meetings drew on earlier meetings, involving 180 men from 27 Indigenous communities, held between August and December 2006. In these meetings, issues of family violence and child sexual abuse had been discussed. The 2006 men's meetings had reported back to the NT Chief Minister and the Family and Community Services Minister with a series of messages (King 2008). One of these messages was that men need to be involved in the development of solutions for issues of family violence and child abuse.

In the 2007–08 meetings, Indigenous men were brought together from around the Northern Territory to discuss child abuse and domestic violence. Following a meeting of Indigenous men in Darwin on 3 March 2008, an 'executive group' was selected. The core of this group included some Indigenous men from the 2006 reporting group, with other senior men being identified by communities. This group included 35 men from 30 communities, including Yuelamu (Mt Allan), Papunya, Kintore,

Mt Liebig, Haasts Bluff, Maningrida, Laramba, Aputula (Finke), Groote Eyelandt, Ngukurr, Borroloola, Garden Point, Snake Bay, Darwin, Elliott, Katherine, Lajamanu, Yirrkala, Wadeye, Amooguna, Kalkarindji, Ltyentye Apurte, Mutijulu, Wugularr, Nguiu, Tennant Creek, Ti Tree/Emarajuntaunta, Ntaria, Yuendumu and Naiyu. This group formed the Senior Indigenous Men's Advisory Group and received the full support of the Deputy Chief Minister. This group acted in an advisory capacity when required, meeting with the Deputy Chief Minister and the Attorney-General on a range of issues.

Through these processes, Indigenous men, both within the Senior Indigenous Men's Group and in the broader context of the men's meetings, played an integral role in the development and subsequent implementation of the education campaign. This included providing input and feedback on the design of the workshop program and supporting materials. Through the process of community representation, a diverse range of Indigenous communities had input into how the campaign would be delivered. It was also anticipated that senior men, through their status in communities, would also play an important role in helping to engage individual communities in workshops, acting as role models and providing ongoing support for the program.

The final workshop design

While NT Justice ultimately decided on the final implementation strategy, design and how the program was to be run, it was specifically tailored around the information and advice received through the workshops and consultations. Advice was received that a mass media approach would not be appropriate owing to the sensitivity of the program topic. While the initial concept involved men from individual communities presenting the workshop through a 'train the trainer' approach, consultations indicated that this approach would not be culturally appropriate. Therefore the final approach involved NT Justice representatives presenting workshops in each of the nominated communities. NT Justice determined that, where possible, the workshops would include local representatives and/or support people working with the presenters.

The workshops were based on the principle that individuals in each community could attend an

interactive workshop to discuss issues relating to media classification, issues relating to pornography, ways in which communities and individuals are able to increase awareness of these issues and how potential harms to children could be minimised. The basic messages to be presented would extend beyond the issue of media classification to cover harms of pornography and responsible adult behaviours and parenting. As set out in the communications strategy, these messages would be included in a flipchart (storyboard), which presenters could use in the presentation of the workshops. A number of the flipcharts would be left in each community to enable ongoing communication about the issues.

Development of the flipchart

Following the consultation workshops a flipchart (storyboard) entitled *Australian classification symbols and what they mean to us* was developed. The flipchart included eight pages, each with a simple message that expanded on concepts relating to the three principal messages outlined in the communications strategy. The messages also drew on the consultation workshops and consultations with senior men. The text and messages on each of the pages were:

- *Classification for films and literature*—this page provided a representation of each of the symbols used in classifying media

- *Porn—not just blue movies!*—the principle message here was that pornography comes in many forms; parents are responsible for what children see and they need to make sure children do not see pornography

- *Healthy TV and magazines can be fun for the whole family*—the message on this page was about making TV or movies a healthy experience by selecting content that everyone can watch

- *Know what your kids are watching. Some movies make them sad or scared*—this message highlighted that some media, particularly pornography, can have adverse effects on children and it is important that parents are aware of what their children are exposed to when adults in the family are not there

- *No porn in communities with this sign*—this message highlighted that pornography bans were in place in proscribed communities across the Northern Territory

- *There are big penalties for showing porn to kids*—this message related to the legislation and associated penalties that exist nationally (ie prior to the ban on pornography in proscribed communities) for offences relating to the exposure of children to pornography

- *Be strong when you see the wrong thing happening*—this message related to parents and other adults becoming good role models for children, including not letting other people show children pornography and talking to other people about why it is not okay to allow children to see pornography

- *Teach kids the proper way*—the message on this page was about teaching kids properly about sex and relationships.

The intention of the flipchart was that each picture would consistently reflect a simple concept that should be evident to anyone who saw it, irrespective of their language skills. The flipcharts were intended to emphasise that it is the responsibility of adults to control access to pornography, rather than it being the child's responsibility to say 'no' to viewing any form of pornography. Congruent with the emphasis on men taking responsibility for preventing children from being exposed to pornography, and taking into account beliefs that pornography is most likely to be consumed by men, many of the pictures included depictions of men taking on responsible, positive roles.

Following the design process, the flipchart was piloted, principally with Indigenous people and service providers from many different communities. This process was undertaken by both Charlie King and Ken Vowles, the NT Justice project officer. Participants in the pilots were asked what each of the messages meant to them. This allowed the developers to assess the extent to which pictures and messages would be consistently and accurately interpreted by the audience and to identify aspects that may prove problematic. While the piloting process may have added to both the expense

and time taken to develop resources, NT Justice saw it as particularly useful for identifying a number of issues with the first draft that may have impacted on the efficacy of the program. Aspects identified as problematic included:

- The removal of a rendering of the blue sign (erected outside proscribed communities to advise of pornography bans and penalties) on the front cover which incited 'strong' discussions and views, both during consultations with the Senior Indigenous Men's Group and at workshops held about the NTER, not related to the NT Justice campaign.

- A failure to accurately incorporate existing logos for media classification. Accurate representations facilitate recognition, thereby increasing awareness and acting as an ongoing reminder for adults to be aware of what their children are watching.

- Depictions of a rubbish bin containing pornographic material. While the message was that adults should dispose of this material, doing so in rubbish bins may be problematic as children may scavenge pornography out of the bins. Some communities had already had problems with children retrieving pornography put in rubbish bins by visiting contractors.

- Modifications were also made to depictions of a police officer and his police wagon to make them more appropriate and culturally sensitive.

Overall, there were four drafts of the flipchart, incorporating input from consultations involving members of 35 communities, the Senior Indigenous Men's Group, individuals from remote communities, representatives from the NTER and NT Justice, as well as trialling at the Nguiu and Tennant Creek workshops.

Through this process, NT Justice identified the flipchart as a particularly useful educational tool due to its simplicity and participants indicated it was an effective way of getting the message across. The flipcharts were a useful way of engaging in discussions with participants in their own environments about what otherwise would be confronting issues. They also provided a useful, ongoing resource for communities.

'No More' campaign

NT Justice, through their engagement of Indigenous men, have independently facilitated a grassroots campaign among Indigenous men that seeks to empower and engage men in becoming part of the solution in addressing violence in Indigenous communities. While separate from the media classification awareness education campaign, the 'No More' campaign is worth noting as another means by which Indigenous people are seeking to address some of the issues troubling their communities.

At the end of the Senior Indigenous Men's Group meeting in Darwin, as a symbolic gesture of expressing their commitment to strengthening families through non-violence, the men linked arms. This became the symbol of the 'No More' campaign. As part of ongoing initiatives, discussions were held with football clubs and these were encouraged to be part of the 'No More' campaign. This led to the linking of arms at the Ngurratjuta Lightning Australian Rules Football Carnival in Alice Springs, which was followed by a linking of arms at the Northern Territory Football League grand final.

Photographs of local teams linking arms have been included in a calendar, accompanied by strong supporting statements. The 'No More' campaign was brought to the attention of teams playing in the AFL's Indigenous football round, including Santa Teresa from Central Australia and Fitzroy from Melbourne. This was followed by presentations to the Boomerangs, a young national Indigenous elite squad and to the Essendon and Richmond football clubs. The latter two teams, involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous men, linked arms at the Melbourne Cricket Ground in a public display. This message of men standing up against family violence was broadcast across various television (Channel 7, Channel 10, Imparja television), radio stations (eg Caama Radio, ABC Radio) and newspapers.

The 'No More' initiative has been developed and led by Indigenous men. This initiative has received little funding, but is ongoing. The use of sport, particularly football, is potentially a powerful avenue for communicating anti-violence and other positive messages. A similar initiative beginning in the

inner-city Aboriginal community in Redfern, New South Wales—the 'Blackout Violence' initiative—has used the popularity of rugby league to increase awareness of the harms of violence and influence attitudes towards family violence in Indigenous communities.

Implementation

Timetable

It was initially anticipated that the delivery of workshops in Indigenous communities would commence in February 2008. The roll-out of the program was delayed slightly by the need to redesign and hence reprint the flipcharts. The first men's and women's workshops were delivered in Nguiu on 27 March 2008. The workshop program was disrupted for approximately a month by the unexpected leave of absence of the project officer/ key coordinator.

Recognising the need to complete the delivery of workshops prior to men's cultural ceremony events, typically undertaken concurrent with the Top End wet season, a second project officer was employed to assist in the delivery of workshops. A Central Desert man with strong connections to Central Australia was engaged mainly to run men's workshops held in that area. All planned workshops had been completed by the time this report was written.

Both men's and women's workshops were held and details of the overall workshop design and individual workshops are below. At the time of writing, as the campaign approached the end of its two year initial funding period, a total of approximately 1,300 Indigenous people across the Northern Territory had attended the workshops.

Men's workshops

Location

Men's workshops were run at Nguiu, Tennant Creek, Wadeye, Katherine, Elliott, Borroloola, Kalkarindji, Maningrida, Angurugu, Nhulunbuy, Ngukurr, Gunbalanya, Ti Tree, Papunya, Alice Springs, Ntaria, Darwin, Darwin Correctional Centre, Alice Springs Correctional Centre and the Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education.

In the case of Darwin and Alice Springs, two or more workshops were held to capture distinct segments of the Indigenous population. The overall number of workshops was constrained by timeframes and financial considerations. The communities listed above were included to provide greatest possible coverage of the Northern Territory and accessibility to surrounding communities within the same regional language groups.

Presenters

Men's workshops were presented by the NT Justice project officers who were both Indigenous men. Where possible, these presenters delivered workshops in geographical areas to which they had the greatest connection. In some instances, these presenters were supported by local Indigenous men.

Attendees

Workshops were open to all members of the community and members of surrounding communities who were regarded within their community as being men (typically above 14 years of age). Nevertheless, the community ultimately decided who should attend. In one community, only elders and other senior men attended, as within the community it was considered their responsibility to deal with this issue. In another community, the men's workshop coordinator was asked to talk to a group of boys and much younger men, so the workshop was modified to suit this younger audience. In most cases, men who attended the workshops were from the local communities, though in some instances men travelled distances of up to 150 kilometres to attend.

Pre-organisation

Considerable effort was invested in the organisation of each workshop in an attempt to ensure it met community needs and to maximise attendance. Contact was made with people within the community and who were known to presenters, including senior men identified through the initial consultation workshops. Where NT Justice did not have established contacts, they sought the assistance of the local council to identify an appropriate person, typically through a series of referrals.

Having 'tracked down' the right person, the presenter explained to community representatives what the workshops were about and why the education campaign was important. Having gained approval for the workshop, they then sought advice about appropriate timing and location. Notably, it was important for the workshop to avoid times when there was other cultural or other community business or activities taking place that would occupy the target audience, as well as other times when it was not appropriate for outsiders to be present.

The community contacts assisted in identifying suitable locations for the workshops. This was in part shaped by available facilities, but also by the perceived 'safeness' of a particular space. This varied between communities, shaped by the past and current events within the particular community.

Therefore, what was perceived to be an appropriate space may vary between visits, depending on prior events in the community.

The presenters also consulted community stakeholders about other details, like appropriate catering. They established a community contact to look after local pre-organisation matters, such as putting up posters to advertise the workshop. Posters were sent to the contact person and other community stakeholders (eg Community Government Councils, General Business Managers, Shire Councils, Aboriginal Elders, Health clinics, Indigenous liaison officers, Incorporated Indigenous organisations, Indigenous Employment Officers etc). The presenter maintained contact with people in the community to maintain interest in the program and keep abreast of any issues that may have impacted on the timing or location of the workshop. In some cases, it became necessary to reschedule the workshop as a result of conflicting and/or unscheduled events, such as a death in the community.

Workshop set up and organisation

Where possible, the project officers attempted to arrive prior to the workshop (between 1 and 3 days beforehand) to get out into the community and talk to people about the workshops. The project officers had found through prior experience, subsequently reinforced during the workshop phase of this campaign, that direct contact close to the time of the event was important in securing the attendance of the target audience. This included contacting key service providers (such as health clinics, police, schools and councils), but also talking to people in the general community to let them know about the workshop, what it was about and to provide details about the time and location.

NT Justice noted that it was an advantage to have two project officers facilitating the workshops. While one person set up for the workshop, the other could 'chase up' people around the community to attend. It was particularly useful to have a local contact, respected within the community, to assist in encouraging local people to come along. It was noted by the NT Justice presenters that word tended to spread fast, particularly in small remote communities. They found that people could drop in

at any point during the presentation. Some people only attended up to lunch, but were able to participate in discussion about some of the main issues covered in the workshop. Attendance at workshops varied for a range of reasons, discussed further below.

Workshop structure

In practice, the structure of each workshop varied markedly, particularly between urban and rural/remote areas, to meet the needs and expectations of each community audience. Despite the variation between communities, the formal structure of the workshop typically followed the following pattern.

Welcome and overview of workshop

Introduction of presenters—the presenter(s) introduced themselves and talked about their roles with NT Justice. They also talked about where they were from and their family's country. The latter was important for establishing connection and respect, facilitating a more open environment and discussion.

Background of program and development—this included a small presentation about how the program came about, making reference to the recommendation in the *Little children are sacred* report as well as the involvement of senior Indigenous men, often including local senior men, in developing the program.

Three key messages—the three key messages of the education campaign, about the media classification system and the laws surrounding it, were then introduced, but not discussed in detail at that point.

Ice breakers—a short game was played in which individual members were introduced to others in the group. This exercise was confined mainly to workshops undertaken in urban areas and was dependant on the participants and their level of familiarity with each other.

What is pornography?

In this section, participants identified what materials and content they considered to be pornographic. In some cases this was undertaken in smaller groups.

This exercise helped participants understand what the workshop was about. This section of the workshop was also particularly informative for more

senior men. It is evident that a large generational divide exists in relation to the use of emerging technologies. Many participants did not use technology like mobile phones, MP3 players or the internet and were not aware of the capacity of these technologies to capture, store and transmit sexually explicit content.

Where did you learn about sex?

This session then asked participants/groups to talk about where they learned about sex and related experiences.

Flipchart

The remaining time before lunch and much of the time after lunch was spent working through the flipchart. This was logically broken into a number of discussions relating to:

The classification symbols and meanings—in this case, the presenter talked about the different classification categories and the types of materials that they refer to. The classification of computer games was also discussed.

Protecting our children—this section included discussions about how pornography affects children and families and how pornography can make children feel angry, sad, aggressive or even scared. The program emphasised that all Indigenous men, together with women, have a responsibility to protect children from pornography. There was also a discussion about what media content it is healthy for children to see, and how this changes as children get older, and how media classification can be used as a guide.

It was noted by the project officers that the concerns voiced by Indigenous men commonly revolved around 'excessive' sexuality. Pornography was seen to encourage sex and undermine sexual restraint. This is seen to manifest in children having sex too young, inappropriate sexual relationships, promiscuity, girls chasing men and young men having sex with very young girls. Issues relating to sexual violence were not commonly raised by men in the workshops. Presenters highlighted difficulties in discussing sexual violence. Overall, male participants appeared to have a poor understanding of sexual violence. In some cases, this was severely deficient

(eg it is not rape if a girl is no longer a virgin). The clear need for education campaigns around sexual violence, identified previously by Wild and Anderson (2007), has not been addressed by governments. An understanding around sexual violence issues is required for education initiatives around pornography-related harms to bring about short and long term attitudinal and behavioural outcomes.

Considerations of harm were discussed in cultural terms that may be slightly different to those raised in non-Indigenous contexts. For example, pornography was described as being 'not our way' (culture) and harmful to health. The latter took into consideration holistic Indigenous concepts of health.

Children are not allowed to watch at all!—although the issue about penalties of having pornography in proscribed communities was discussed in the workshops, this was not the emphasis. Rather, the message was that there is a responsibility to protect children. It is not appropriate to leave pornography lying around the house or other places where children can access it and it is not appropriate to watch pornography with children in the room.

Signs and penalties—the blue and white signs that are present on entry to all proscribed communities as notices of alcohol and pornography restrictions were then discussed. This included a discussion about the fact that pornography is illegal in proscribed communities and that it is illegal for any person in Australia to expose persons under 18 years of age to pornography. Presenters discussed the potential implications of pornography offences for the community, including the reality that most people would be unable to pay the fines, which may result in imprisonment and related impacts for the community.

Who is responsible for making communities safe for everyone?—in this section, the presenters discussed further why it is important to keep pornography from children. It acknowledged the important and strong role that women have played and continue to play in families and communities. The presenters suggested that while Indigenous men love and respect women for their work in raising children and other aspects of their role as women, it was now time for men to step up, become local role models and play a stronger role in protecting children from harm. The presenters talked about how the actors in films were only acting

and that these were not 'real' men. As 'real' men, the participants must play a leading role in protecting children from pornography. The presenters talked about how Indigenous men could be a pivotal part of the solution to the problem, and that there was support for men, both from within and outside communities to take on this role.

Teaching kids the proper way—in conjunction with the latter section, the final part of the workshop talked about the responsibility of parents and elders to teach children about sex the 'proper way'. This included the importance of preserving cultural values in which there is respect for elders and nurturance of the young. The discussions with participants commonly extended more broadly and included discussions about the importance of getting kids away from television and the like. Participants often talked about the role of men in taking children out to do traditional activities like hunting and fishing.

Discussion—these sections were then followed by an open discussion about any of the issues raised to that point.

Additional comments

While this formalised workshop structure was found to be successful, it was also necessary to vary the structure to meet the given conditions. Men's workshop presenters found that although the formalised workshop structure worked in some urban centres, it was less appropriate for more remote areas. For the latter, the workshops covered a similar spectrum of issues, but the workshop style was largely based on dialogue. The presenters tended to invite participation by asking participants a series of questions. This created an open environment in which the issues could be discussed.

Cultural brokerage and language assistance

As noted earlier, both presenters of the men's workshops were Indigenous men. Where possible, the local senior male contact or another local person was used in a brokering role to facilitate access to the community and engagement with local men. Owing to the two presenters' connections with prominent roles in the Indigenous community, there was less emphasis on actual cultural brokerage

roles. No language assistance was utilised. However, the workshop structure facilitated discussions by some participants in their Indigenous language, which could then be relayed to the broader group and presenter.

Specific men's workshops

As the AIC representatives were only able to observe two men's workshops, the following summaries of individual workshops are based on the observations of the workshop presenters. These summaries do not cover all workshops conducted through the campaign, but given an indication of the numbers of people attending and the types of issues that were discussed by participants.

Wadeye—a workshop for men was held on 25 June 2008, after an initial change in date owing to a clash with cultural ceremony. The workshop received an excellent response with over 40 men in attendance. The material and delivery received a good response from participants, particularly the flip chart/ storyboard.

Based on the workshop presenter's perceptions, participants were able to understand the difference between X18+ and R18+ rated content and the rationale for X18+ rated movies being classified differently, following the workshops. However, this was not formally measured.

In the discussion relating to sex education, issues were raised relating to the lack of knowledge of older men as well as overexposure to sex and pornography among younger men. Group activities that required talking about, writing about and then presenting on issues were not received well, with participants feeling more comfortable engaging in discussions about these issues instead. Significant discussions arose around 'intervention-related issues', particularly about bans related to people's choices around drinking and pornography. However, attendees agreed that children should not watch porn. There was a large amount of interest (discussion and questions) of laws around the supply and possession of pornography. Men indicated that they were more aware of these issues following the workshop.

Alice Springs—this workshop was attended by 23 Indigenous males from Alice Springs and town camps. Communication was made through Tangentyere Council and Central Australian Aboriginal Congress (CAAC). Feedback indicated pornography was highly accessible via movies, literature and on mobile phones.

Katherine—separate workshops were held in Katherine for men and women on 4 September 2008. Approximately 23 men attended up to lunch, but numbers dropped to 12 afterwards. This apparently arose from it being 'payday' and participants being lost to other activities. The material and delivery was received with a good response from participants, particularly the flipchart/ storyboard. Participants understood the rationale for distinction between X18+ and R18+ rated materials and that X18+ rated movies involved 'real' sex. Participants commented on the ease with which pornography could be obtained in Katherine. They also raised issues relating to bans; how it was wrong to ban people's choices depending on where you live. They suggested the NTER was wrong and commented that no men they knew of had been charged with child abuse. They also commented on a lack of sex education and how greater access to sex education is needed for Aboriginal people in the camps and surrounding areas. There was a great deal of interest in, and apparent shock about, the laws relating to pornography.

Elliott—a men's workshop was held at Elliott on 16 September 2008. There were 35 participants. The meeting was held under a tree in the local park after men asked for it to be changed from the original indoor venue. The men understood the difference between X18+ and R18+ classification symbols and that X18+ included actual sex. They noted that pornography was readily accessible from major centres like Katherine and Alice Springs. Images could be readily accessed by mobile phone. The flipchart was received very well and participants commented on the basic yet strong message it gave. The activities were received well but the length of time devoted to them was shortened, allowing for extended periods of discussion. This worked well, with some local strong men being important in driving discussions. They raised issues relating to drinkers setting up camp outside of town

and were interested about, and discussed at length, the bans and fines relating to the NTER. The issue of a lack of sex education knowledge, particularly among young men, was raised.

These men were very eager to have the workshop and it was very well received. This was the first time that men in Elliott had come together to talk about issues that affected them, their families and their community in a positive atmosphere. This group raised the issue of wanting to develop a men's group which would include cultural trips and activities.

Borroloola—a men's workshop was held on 18 September 2008, at which there were 36 participants. This group was predominantly made up of young men, although some senior men were in attendance. The flipchart was received very well and participants commented on the basic yet strong message it gave. Participants understood the X18+ and R18+ classification symbols and that X18+ rated materials involved actual sex. They talked about pornography and mobile phones. Owing to shyness, discussions about sex and family protection were difficult. Most participants learned about sex by asking their friends or relatives. Participants appeared genuinely shocked to learn about fines related to the possession and supply of pornography. They did not think that pornography was a problem in their community, but felt that the choice to watch pornography should be theirs and not someone else's.

Kalkarindji—a workshop was held on 23 September 2008 at which 38 participants attended. The participants enjoyed the flipchart, but raised the issue that they would like to see it in an appropriate Indigenous language with depictions of local people. They understood that the rationale for X18+ and R18+ classification symbols and that X18+ rated material involves actual sex. They indicated that they did not think that pornography was a problem in the community, or that it had any major effects on people, but indicated if one desired it could be easily accessed on trips to Katherine. The issue of sexual images on mobile phones was raised. They indicated that they wouldn't let children watch 'blue' movies as they are too young to understand and that people might try to be 'funny' with them. They indicated that drinking and then looking for sex was a problem sometimes and indicated that there was

a need for men to be stronger in talking to other men about the effects of drink and porn on children or other family members. Again, bans and fines for supply and possession was a major discussion point.

Gunbalanya (Oenpelli)—the initial men's workshop, scheduled for Gunbalanya on 23 October 2008, did not proceed as no participants attended the venue, despite efforts by the project officers on the morning to encourage attendance. This situation appeared due to a failure of the community contact to erect advertising posters sent by NT Justice, confusion over the venue, many local people involved in preparing for a funeral and the inability of the project officers in this case to arrive in the community the day beforehand. Some implications of this situation are discussed in the review section below.

A second workshop was held at Gunbalanya a few weeks later. By arriving a day early, and using a local contact made during the prior visit, a group of 29 men was assembled for the second workshop. Participation in workshop activities was enthusiastic. The issue of mobile phones and movies were the main point of discussions. The men raised the point that a lack of an amnesty for pornography, as was the case when firearms laws were changed, meant that pornography would unlikely be surrendered for fear of prosecution. They suggested that an amnesty period of six weeks would be sufficient for existing materials to be surrendered to appropriate authorities.

Ti Tree—the workshop held on 10 November 2008 was apparently well received by 16 strong elders of the community. Elders raised the issue that it was difficult to control the youth from accessing porn on their mobile phones and that they would like more assistance from NT Government agencies to combat this. Some felt there was too much emphasis and pressure being put on Aboriginal elders to assist with the NTER and NT Government programs.

Ntaria—a men's workshop was held at Ntaria on 12 December 2008. Despite the timing clash with the beginning of men's business, there were 17 senior men in attendance. This workshop followed a less formal and more open style than the others, facilitating extended periods of discussion. A great deal of discussion was held

in language between members of the community and then the presenter was informed of what they were talking about.

A point was raised that sex education in school (the example was given of putting a condom on a banana) was sending children the wrong message. Presenters were able to talk about this being a safe sex message there to protect children. There was strong emphasis within the discussions on the need for men, and not the government, to protect children from pornography and the need to provide kids with alternative activities, like fishing, hunting and playing sports. The participants raised the issue of social change, giving the example that previously a man and woman could go for a swim naked and that it would not lead to sex, but that is not the case now. Another issue raised was that many parents and other older people are not familiar with new technologies and they are quite horrified when they find out how things like mobile phones can be used in the consumption and transmission of sexual images.

In addition to the above workshop with senior men, a 'mini-workshop' was held for approximately 10 minutes with around 30 younger men and boys (11 to 16 years of age) from the school. The presenter suggested to the senior men that he should not be presenting to this age group, but did so at the insistence of a senior man from the community, who felt that it was important the young kids be informed about these issues. Therefore, a modified discussion was held. The senior man asked the boys if they had seen pornography or knew about it. The senior man indicated that although some of this group were men, they were not old enough to know what was real and what was not in pornographic images. The community saw a strong need for the education campaign and would like to see the workshop repeated in the future.

Women's workshops

Location

Workshops for women were conducted in seven locations: Katherine, Tennant Creek, Nguiu, Nhulunbuy, Gunbalanya, Alice Springs and Ntaria.

Three were cancelled due to communities being closed for ceremony and on one occasion a death.

Presenter

Ms Lesley Taylor, executive officer of the NT branch of NAPCAN, who formed part of the steering committee, was actively involved in the development of the education workshops. NAPCAN, through Ms Taylor, was contracted to deliver the women's workshops in each of the nominated communities. Women's workshops were conducted in fewer locations than men's workshops due to funding restrictions. An abbreviated form of the women's workshop was presented by NT Justice project officer Ken Vowles at Wadeye owing to interest from the community in a women's workshop, but in the absence of a female presenter.

Attendees

While some of the workshops included youth workers, few younger females attended women's workshops. Most were older women who were concerned about the impact of pornography on the community.

Pre-organisation

NAPCAN was responsible for arranging the women's workshops. Contact was made with local council, school, health service, the general business manager and other service providers, who in turn made contact with relevant members of the community to inform them of the workshop and its purpose. Flyers were distributed to service providers. NAPCAN utilised existing networks of individuals and organisations who had previously expressed a strong interest in the wellbeing and safety of children to generate interest in the workshop. Insufficient funds were available for NAPCAN to undertake pre-visits, except in the case of the Ntaria workshop, which occurred concurrently with the men's workshop.

Workshop structure

The way the workshop evolved varied markedly between locations, being strongly influenced by

the conversations of the women. However, the broad range of issues covered was common to all workshops.

What is pornography?

The first session revolved around the issue of 'what is pornography?' This was an interactive session, during which participants gave their own understanding of what constituted pornography, while the facilitator talked about how movies are classified, how decisions about classification get made and what each of the classification symbols meant. This interactive discussion was included within a game in which the women were given particular movies and then asked to talk about how they think the movie might be classified based on what was in it. They also discussed the potential impact of the movie, particularly on children. The issue of films which have not been classified or which have been refused classification were also discussed.

The value of this session was that it not only enabled women to develop an understanding of classification in a hands-on way, but opened up discussion, with a potential for discussing many issues beyond X18+ rated materials and the classification scheme. The topics discussed included other potentially problematic content (eg violence, offensive language and content), other types of media that could influence behaviour (eg music) and ways in which pornographic media could be accessed.

The game identifying how movies would be classified was refined over the course of the campaign. Emphasis was placed on those participants who were more open to discussing the issues, encouraging participants to think about the underlying issues and communicate these thoughts to other participants. The exercise highlighted issues around different people's views on what classifications were appropriate for different movies.

Flipchart

Due to the large range of issues raised during the first part of the workshops, the issues covered in the next section varied markedly. The next part of the workshop typically involved going through the flipchart and, where necessary, filling in gaps in knowledge. Each page of the flipchart would generate its own discussion and included discussions on how it was illegal for someone to expose a person under 18 years of age to X18+ rated materials, restricted Category 1 and Category 2 classified publications and materials which had been refused classification.

Harms of pornography

A number of themes were raised in discussions about the harms of pornography, including that pornography can lead to:

- changes in children's hearts and their spirits
- people thinking bad thoughts as well as doing bad things
- sex being regarded as not special or important, or to be considered deeply
- people not respecting their bodies, selling bodies for sex, even for minor returns (eg cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana, petrol, pornography etc)
- young women having babies too young
- a lack of consent, or not understanding what consent means
- disrespect for mothers and other women and girls
- healthy relationships becoming harmed.

Women raised the issue that pornography caused too much sex in people's thinking. Some considered that the phenomena of 'sistergirls' (young males who dress, talk and behave like females) was also in part due to pornography.

It is noted that while women had identified the differences between X18+ rated and R18+ rated pornography, discussions about harm also extended to media more generally. Other forms of media were thought by participants to contribute to 'bad' thoughts and behaviours. This included the influence of American popular music, particularly hip hop, which included songs with lyrics about committing rape. Television was also cited as a source of harm. However, the impacts of media were often framed in contexts that included broader social concerns, which may or may not be specific to that community. For example, one participant indicated that young people were bored and that at night some of the young people ran around the community, with

hats on back to front, swearing and engaging in graffiti (much of it sexually explicit). The women found this graffiti to be distressing. One community member mentioned that an extensive marketing campaign by subscription television provider Austar saw large uptake within Indigenous communities. This was accompanied by a massive drop in school attendance, with children staying up all night watching television, which in some cases may have included adult channels. The national Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) was perceived as being problematic in some communities due to its broadcasting of sexual content.

Although the participants raised a diverse range of issues relating to sexual behaviour and health outcomes, two topics that were notable in their absence included sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and sexual violence. This may be due to an apparent low level of awareness and concern about STIs in most Indigenous communities. The lack of discussion about sexual violence may be due to a reluctance to discuss this sensitive topic in the workshop setting. It may be encapsulated within general statements like 'making them think bad thoughts as well as do bad things', or it may not have been seen by the participants as relevant. Nonetheless, the lack of discussion about these important topics further highlights the need for education campaigns in Indigenous communities on a broad range of sexual health and behavioural topics.

Strategies for protecting children

In this session, women were able to share strategies for protecting children from exposure to inappropriate media. The workshop discussed 'safe' ways that women could help protect their children from harm. These included:

- direct physical measures such as not allowing children to be exposed to inappropriate content (eg sending them to bed at a certain time, buying an appropriate mobile phone)
- less direct strategies (eg watching appropriate content with children and talking to them about the content).

Nevertheless, many participants indicated they often felt powerless to control or influence what media

their children were exposed to. They felt they could not prevent children from being exposed to types of music and television they regarded as problematic. Feedback received during the initial consultations also revealed that not all women were in a position to decide what media content was consumed in their house. In some houses, men decided what was on television and women of the household may have little input or control, except to remove children from the room. In these situations, confronting men may contribute to conflict and possibly violence. Therefore, the workshop talked about safe preventative strategies; that is, strategies that are within that woman's power to change without contributing to a situation which place women and children at risk of harm.

Additional workshop content

Depending on the wishes of women, some of the women's workshops then included some additional components relating to the issues raised in the workshop.

Cultural brokerage and language assistance

The opportunity to have a cultural broker and a translator was offered for each of the workshops and this was organised beforehand. In both Tennant Creek and Katherine, community representatives indicated that they would appoint a cultural broker. In Nhulunbuy, community representatives indicated that they did not need either a cultural broker or a translator. A cultural broker was organised for Gunbalanya, but was not required.

The role of the cultural broker was largely twofold; to translate and explain concepts that were not, or may not have been, understood by the women present and to meter the presentation of material so that participants had sufficient time to process information and contribute to discussions.

Specific women's workshops

As AIC personnel were only able to observe three workshops, and these were in a shortened form, the following summaries are based on observations of the workshop presenters.

Alice Springs—10 women attended, including two lecturers from the Batchelor Institute. The date clashed with an important family violence and drug and alcohol meeting and some individuals who may have attended were absent. Concerns focused on the ease with which pornographic material can be accessed by children through DVDs, magazines, mobile phones and the internet. Serious concerns were raised about the impact that greater access to the internet will have on communities. The need to educate families, young people, children and service providers about how to deal with the influence of pornographic material was identified as more urgent than previously recognised. Lecturers from the Batchelor Institute were committed to sharing the information from the workshop with their early childhood students as part of their core learning.

Tennant Creek—approximately 30 women attended, with some having travelled from Canteen Creek (180 km over rough roads) to attend. The group of women engaged in extensive discussions about strategies to reduce children's access to pornographic material. They discussed the difficulty women had in stopping men from watching 'sexy movies' when children were moving in and out of the home. There was recognition that there may be difficulties in stopping a person from watching pornography in the home given their position within the family or community. Women said they were pleased that men were going to take a lead role in the protection of children and they would be supporting their efforts. In the past, there had been issues about men not supporting women to change things for children and this might be the way forward.

The discussion ranged to include much broader concerns about children, including the influences of too much American 'rapper style' music which included bad language, anger and negative themes. Women disliked the way young women simulated the 'sexy' dance styles seen on MTV and other music channels.

The women agreed to talk to family members and others in their communities about the dangers of pornography to children and to find ways to talk more openly about the problems. They wanted help in talking to children about sex and about relationships. They believed that men were not

confident in this role either and that they too would need assistance.

The group of women who attended decided they would try to meet again to share ideas about ways to address this problem. They liked the idea of the Mooditj program as a sex education strategy, but suggested there was no funding available, everyone was too busy and they did not know who would be able to organise this type of training. Mooditj is a community-based, sexual health and life skills program delivered by trained local service providers to Indigenous youth (11–14 years). The program aims to increase knowledge, enhance personal skills, confidence around sexual issues, through a culturally relevant, integrated approach that builds links between the issues of sexual health, physical, mental and emotional wellbeing, and environmental and social influences.

Katherine—approximately 20 women attended, including a number of women who had travelled in from Yarralin specifically to attend the workshop. The older women in the workshop were unsure of how to stop children accessing pornography. They noted that young children were sending material via mobile phones and that this was problematic, but they did not know how to make them be more careful. The group discussed the idea that it was possible to take the phones from the children but that this did not prevent them from using the phones of other children. It was decided that they needed to teach children what was real and not real about men and women but they remained concerned that children would not listen. They wanted the school to help.

The women from Yarralin asked for the workshop to be held in their community as they wanted to talk about this problem to work out ways to keep children safe. This was to be arranged by the Katherine Early Childhood Network.

Nguiu—a workshop was held in Nguiu at which approximately 35 women attended. The workshop was held at the Strong Women's Centre and most of the senior women from the community were present. Women were very clear about the issues of pornography in their community and talked openly about the influence it had on children. They described very young children giggling and laughing at 'sexing' pictures on their mobile phones (or the phones of their older family members). They said

the little ones didn't understand that what they were watching was bad but it affected the way they behaved.

A lengthy discussion took place around pornography and 'sistergirls', with senior women concerned that this behaviour was caused in part by exposure to pornographic material. Older women could not understand why this was happening but felt it must be due to external influences. Moreover, they felt that pornography disrespected women.

The women participated strongly in the movie activity which required them to decide what category each movie belonged to. It raised issues of children watching 'sexy movies' and also movies that were too aggressive and 'blood-thirsty'. Young people acted out the angry scenes on their younger siblings. The women found content that showed disrespect to family (eg rap singers who used profanities which the young people walked around singing) were most offensive. It was noted that young people also wore the same clothes as the people on the music clips and drew rude pictures (graffiti) on walls, modelling behaviours linked to heavy metal and hip hop artists.

Women highlighted the marked difference in the way they had been raised, compared with the influences on their children. They discussed at length how to address the problem behaviours and how to prevent children reading 'sexy books' and watching 'sexy movies'. They decided that the most important way to address the problem was to talk to the young women about self respect, respecting their bodies and respecting their culture. They designed an education campaign around these principles and drew the picture they would use to promote their messages. Women did not identify any positive benefits of pornography.

Nhulunbuy—approximately 40 Indigenous and non-Indigenous women attended. These were women who worked in government and non-government service provision roles with Indigenous women and children, mainly in the areas of health and education. This meeting included many women who worked closely with youth, both inside and outside of school.

A major concern in this community was that girls and young women commonly exchanged sex for cigarettes, drugs or to be driven into Nhulunbuy or back to their community. This had been of concern for a long period of time and had become entrenched behaviour. The presenter shared how in Nguiu senior women would engage in talking to vulnerable young women about self respect, respecting their bodies and their culture, and how they had designed an education campaign around these principles. This was regarded as good for Nguiu but untenable and too complicated for Nhulunbuy owing to the presence of many different communities. Ideas for change involved talking more with boys and men about appropriate behaviour.

Pornography was seen as influencing the way young men and women behaved toward each other. Sex was seen as nothing special, just a casual experience that didn't mean anything, with little regard for consequences regarding health or unplanned parenthood. Participants indicated young men and women were extensively exposed to sex through DVDs, mobile phones and in the community. Children and young people did not recognise their bodies as special and issues of consent were not understood at all. Ongoing community education was identified as being needed in relation to these issues.

Gunbalanya (Oenpelli)—at the initial workshop at Gunbalanya only one woman attended, with another two coming at the end of the workshop. While the issues were talked about, this workshop did not follow the more formal approach adopted at other locations. It is worth noting that the week prior to this workshop, two groups of over 50 women each had come together in anger to find out who was responsible for a sexual act between a young man and woman that had been filmed on a mobile phone and shared around the community. The police had had to intervene. It is believed the issue was a critical incident and so a calm discussion about the issues was unlikely after such a serious confrontation. The discussion with the few women who participated in the workshop raised the need for young people to learn the rules around mobile phones while learning about relationships. Another workshop was rescheduled for Gunbalanya.

Ntaria—attendance at this workshop was low as most women were at the end-of-year school concert, which the presenter had not been notified

about until the night before. Despite this, seven women attended. The format was markedly shortened to enable many of these women to attend some of the concert. Their attendance at this workshop in light of competing priorities was seen as sign of the women's commitment to this issue.

Wadeye—a women's workshop was planned for Wadeye, but was cancelled following communication with local contacts who indicated that this date conflicted with 'bush holidays'. Despite this conflict, approximately 20 women gathered around the cancelled venue to attend the workshop. The NT Justice project officer responded to this interest by giving the women a 'snapshot' of the program.

Process review

Process review objectives

The objectives of the process review undertaken by the AIC were twofold:

- to assess the capacity of the education campaign to meet its stated objectives of increasing the awareness of Indigenous people in the Northern Territory about:
    - the classification system that operates in Australia for film and literature
    - the laws that apply to classified, unclassified and restricted materials
    - the impact of R18+ and X18+ rated films and printed material on children
- to identify areas for improvement, in relation to both the existing program and to the management of pornography in Indigenous contexts more generally.

It is emphasised that this is a process review and *not* an evaluation. As such, it does not attempt to assess the levels of understanding achieved among the target audience.

Process review methodology

The methodology adopted in this review of the process adopted by NT Justice in developing and implementing the campaign, in particular the process of engagement with Indigenous communities was guided both by financial and practical considerations. For a variety of reasons, it was not feasible for the reviewers to engage with workshop participants to assess how participants' understandings were altered by the workshops, or to seek input regarding the cultural appropriateness or effectiveness of the campaign. The main practical considerations influencing this were:

- the subjects of sex, sexuality, sexual violence and other problematic sexual behaviours, and pornography are all particularly sensitive subjects, increasing the likelihood that people would be unwilling to talk with unknown non-Indigenous persons about the sensitive topics covered by the education campaign
- recent media and public attention on, and scrutiny of, Indigenous people of the Northern Territory that had arisen as a consequence of the NTER
- the extent to which Indigenous Australians have been the subjects of research, inquiry and intervention, often in ways that has not involved proper consultation or consideration of Indigenous community needs
- barriers posed by differences in language and world view and, possibly, a reluctance by workshop participants to engage with reviewers during a single visit, hamper the ability to achieve meaningful measures of workshop success.

- the reasonable, but unmeasurable, possibility that answers would be framed to meet the reviewer's perceived expectations, rather than being a transparent reflection of the respondent's thoughts, feelings, concerns or desires.

Some of these issues could have been surmounted through the use of focus groups facilitated by Indigenous personnel. This was not possible due to the limited funds available for the review and the pragmatic difficulties involved in travelling to communities and facilitating engagement with workshop participants.

To overcome these issues, it was initially anticipated that Indigenous and non-Indigenous service providers might be able to provide important insights into how the education campaign was received by individual communities, including whether members of the community were talking about the workshop, the content of the workshops and whether the campaign was seen as being a positive process for individuals and the community. The extent to which the campaign, or issues related to pornography more generally, were being discussed might also provide information about the extent to which the messages were being disseminated into the broader community. The rationale for this methodology was that many service providers had been involved during the consultation phase of the program and were also seen to be central to the engagement of the community during the implementation phase. This approach was initially considered a viable alternative for remote locations, where communication barriers were likely to be more difficult.

The above approach was subsequently dismissed. Based on visits by the authors to a small number communities, and discussions with people with knowledge and experience of communities, it became evident that many service providers would have limited knowledge about these types of communication within their communities. It was considered that surveys of service providers would more likely reflect differing levels of engagement between service providers and the community and the views of service providers themselves, rather than actual levels of communication about pornography-related issues.

The final review methodology involved critically examining information provided by NT Justice

personnel and the NAPCAN representative involved in the campaign, together with information gathered by the reviewers during visits to the Northern Territory to observe workshops. This information has been examined to ascertain:

- conformity with good practice guidelines—this refers to the extent to which the methods used in developing and implementing the education campaign was congruent with relevant good practice guidelines

- adaptability and flexibility—this refers to the extent to which the program evolved and adapted to meet the needs of specific and ongoing needs of communities, situations and/or participants

- indications of the campaign's capacity to meet its stated objectives.

Information for this review was sourced from:

- interviews with NT Justice staff

- interviews with NAPCAN representative

- documentation pertaining to the development and implementation of the program, created and held by NT Justice and or their representatives

- observations made by the authors, based on attendance at education workshops held at Gunbalanya (women's workshop only), Ntaria (women's workshop only), Alice Springs prison (men's workshop only) and during associated preparation and travel to the workshop locations.

Conformity with good practice guidelines

Two complementary sets of good practice criteria were used as comparisons in this review:

- the principles of engagement with Indigenous people, outlined in Wild and Anderson (2007). These represent a distillation of principles outlined in Law Reform Commission of Western Australia (2006). These are not strict rules that have been tested according to western scientific research principles, but represent a distillation of knowledge acquired during ongoing engagement with Indigenous communities. This list is not exhaustive, but represents a simple and indicative guide developed to inform government.

- evidence-based guidelines for the effective delivery of sexual health education initiatives (Ellis & Grey 2004).

The principles of good practice for Indigenous policy and programs formulated by Wild and Anderson (2007) were used as benchmarks of good practice in this review. These principles are:

- improve government service provision to Aboriginal people
- take language and cultural 'world view' seriously
- effective and ongoing consultation and engagement
- local focus and recognition of diversity
- community-based and community-owned initiatives
- recognition and respect of Aboriginal law and empowerment and respect of Aboriginal people
- balanced gender and family, social or clan group representation
- adequate and ongoing support and resources
- ongoing monitoring and evaluation.

This review is structured according to criteria identified though a review of health promotion strategies for sexually transmitted infections as being important for the effective delivery of sexual health education initiatives (Ellis & Grey 2004). Aspects of that review relating to the assessed cultural appropriateness of the campaign and its elements are relevant to most sections of this review and therefore are addressed as they arise. In considering good practice guidelines, there are two critical components to the effective delivery of any education program:

- identifying and targeting the appropriate audience
- developing a clear message that facilitates understanding, but also that maximises the potential for integration of that information, to produce the desired behavioural changes (in this case preventing childhood exposure to pornography).

Need for an education campaign

A fundamental consideration in determining the effectiveness of the NT Justice education campaign and its capacity to meet the objectives, was whether the education campaign was warranted. If the information provided was already known,

the campaign may not justify the time and resources investment. This is an important point for consideration, both for any proposed future iterations of the campaign and for the development of any related initiatives using a similar methodology.

As noted above but worth reiterating here, the impetus for the NT Justice education campaign arose from the well-documented prevalence of sexual violence in some Indigenous communities, the identified exposure of children to pornography and from reports of court cases where sexual violence was linked to the use of pornography. The need for an education campaign to raise awareness of media classifications, and pornography in particular, was determined by the NT Attorney General and, separately, through the *Little children are sacred* report (Wild & Anderson 2007). That report recommended wide-ranging education and awareness campaigns for Indigenous communities on issues including sexual abuse, sexual assault, disclosure and mandatory reporting, parenting skills, parental responsibilities and community norms for sexual behaviours (Wild & Anderson 2007). The NT Justice education campaign targets some of the identified needs, but the need for further and broader education and awareness remains.

The use of pornography in NT Indigenous communities was further brought into focus by the NTER's ban on pornography in proscribed communities. In response to the independent review of the NTER, released on 13 October 2008, the Australian Government announced it would retain these controls.

The need for a media classification awareness education campaign is sufficiently established through these findings, recommendations and events. There are a number of other reasons why such a campaign is valuable.

Availability of pornography

While the NTER-related ban on pornography in proscribed communities may reduce the presence of certain media in these communities, it may not necessarily eliminate their presence entirely. The *Little children are sacred* report noted that it 'is unlikely that access to pornography itself or violence in movies and other material can be effectively prevented' (Wild & Anderson 2007: 200). People

in proscribed communities may still have access to pornography in a variety of ways:

- pornographic materials already in communities may be hidden as a 'stash' for continuing use
- individuals may be unwilling to surrender the materials for fear of prosecution and there are no formal mechanisms for surrender
- pornography is readily available in major urban centres
- pornography can easily be obtained via other means including illegal distribution networks and electronic media.

Moreover, blanket bans on pornography may not be maintained in the long term. A recent government discussion paper, outlining proposals for changing or improving the initiatives introduced under the NTER, identified a number of possible changes to existing measures. These included 'allowing for community input and individual requests to be assessed in determining whether bans on alcohol and pornography should continue (as opposed to blanket bans)' (FaHCSIA 2009).

While the effectiveness of the bans, and potential changes to those bans, are outside the scope of this review, the bans do not cover all material that may potentially be harmful to children. Although bans exist on more 'hard-core' pornography, R18+ rated 'adults-only' channels remain available in all proscribed communities. This may represent the primary source of adult content in Indigenous communities prior to the implementation of bans on pornography (see Ravens 2007). Other unrestricted or lower classified forms of media may also contain material unsuitable for some children. For instance, MA15+ rated movies may contain violence, nudity, drug use, offensive language and adult themes. Magazines may not warrant an R18+ classification but still contain nudity. Even if the NTER-related bans were completely effective, the issue of inappropriate exposure among children would remain.

Need for discussion and empowerment

Although there have been extensive debates about pornography, sexualised media and violence in media within the broader community, it is unclear of the extent to which members of the Indigenous community have been privy to these discussions. While such debates rarely reach any consensus, the discussion is important in focusing attention on related issues, such as sexual violence, gender equality and the socialisation of young people. In talking about potential effects of media, individuals and communities are able to delineate for themselves what media they find offensive and why. With an awareness of the potential dangers, people are more likely to put in place preventative countermeasures. These countermeasures work at multiple levels, ranging from the types of media selected, through to the messages individuals choose to accept from media. Simply talking about the issues has the potential to reduce both exposure and harm. The NT Justice workshops provided a unique forum in which Indigenous people can discuss these issues, potentially facilitating further discussions around important issues that they regard as being of concern.

Critically, the NT Justice campaign was not just an education program about pornography and the Australian media classification system. It encouraged male participants in particular to take on some leadership roles within their families and helped empower both men and women in dealing with issues affecting children. It encouraged participants to examine how they came to learn about sex and to think about how to ensure appropriate sexual awareness and education among young people. Indirectly, the campaign *may* also have generated discussion about how and why problematic sexual behaviours manifest and identify potential solutions to these identified issues.

However, the need for more focused education around issues of sexual violence remains and the NT Justice campaign should be viewed within the context of addressing limited aspects of this broader need.

Right to knowledge

As Australian citizens, Indigenous people are bound by Australian laws relating to pornography, with some Indigenous people in the Northern Territory further restricted by pornography bans in proscribed communities. Citizens have a fundamental right to be informed of the laws by which they are bound.

It is clear from NT Justice consultations and from workshop discussions that many, if not most, Indigenous people were unaware of the laws relating to classified media. This is particularly so for laws relating to age restrictions on access. Some community members consulted in the NTER review indicated that 'the information displayed on the signs was complex and made little, if any, sense to people for whom English is a second or third language' (Yu, Duncan & Gray 2008). Similarly, many Indigenous parents and carers were unaware of the tools available to assist them in the management of children's media experiences. Indigenous Australians cannot reasonably be expected to utilise the Australian media classification system if they have no awareness or understanding of it.

Target audience

A central requirement of any successful health initiative is that it targets the relevant audience in terms of age, gender, culture and other relevant factors. This may involve making use of a needs assessment or conducting formative research (Ellis & Grey 2004). Given that the NT Justice education campaign placed a high degree of emphasis on the engagement of men, an emphasis open to debate, it is useful to examine:

- the rationale for this approach
- any evidence supporting the validity of this approach
- any factors that may have been overlooked as a consequence of this approach.

For ease of discussion, men and women as target audiences are discussed separately.

Men

Successful initiatives in Indigenous communities must have cultural and community grounding (see Memmott et al 2006). Initiatives must be based on consultation with communities about their individual needs and be framed in terms of the cultural issues relevant to each community. In developing and implementing initiatives, some issues will be specific to particular communities, some to larger groups of people and some to Indigenous people more

broadly. A successful initiative must balance these different levels of consideration and must involve appropriate consultation and engagement to ensure the issues are properly identified and addressed.

Initial consultations with members of Indigenous communities for this campaign indicated that while all members of the community should have the opportunity to engage in the workshops, and would benefit from the campaign, there should be a greater emphasis on the engagement and targeting of males. Several factors likely appear to have shaped this conclusion.

The residual impacts of colonisation and subsequent practices on Indigenous Australians have been widely documented. There is an argument within the literature that while these events have impacted on all Indigenous Australians, some aspects have been felt hardest by men. Men have suffered particularly from loss of self esteem, self respect and traditional roles (eg Adams 2001; Hunter 1998; McCalman et al 2006). It is argued that prior to colonisation, Indigenous men actively fulfilled meaningful roles within their families and communities and were commensurately accorded authority and status (Adams 2001). Post-colonisation impacts, such as loss and trauma, unemployment, racism, breakdown of traditional practices and marginalisation by the dominant culture have manifested in frustration and anger among Indigenous men (Hunter 1998). In turn, this has led some to use alcohol and other substances as a means of coping and to engage in various 'acting out' behaviours (including violence) that have themselves contributed to ongoing trauma, loss and grief in Indigenous families and communities (eg Swann & Raphael 1995).

One of the traditional roles of senior men was to guide young men through initiation processes, along a clear path to manhood, in which there were clearly defined laws governing appropriate behaviour (including sexual behaviour) and responsibilities for the protection and nurturance of family. The latter has particular implications for the NT Justice education campaign as it seeks tap into Indigenous men's expressed desire to fulfil this role.

There is increasing recognition that while men are identified as the principal perpetrators of violence in Indigenous communities, men are also an important part of the solution. There are several

reasons why this is the case. First, the wellbeing of men, family and community are interdependent. As the CAAC (2001: 20) points out:

> If the man is unwell he cannot provide for his family, therefore, the family suffers. If the family suffers then they draw on resources from the community. The overuse or dependence on the community causes it to dysfunction.

Second, the lives of Indigenous men are adversely affected by a lack of positive involvement with their families. Many may not develop a sense of wellbeing, or a sense of purpose and fulfilment that may come from fatherhood. The absence of these qualities potentially increases the risk of criminal behaviours and other forms of risk-taking (eg UNFPA 2005).

Third, men can provide a unique perspective on how and why some men engage in violent behaviours and can be an important component in identifying and implementing strategies and solutions to address them.

The involvement of men is now recognised as an important element in broader violence prevention initiatives in Australia (eg ATSISJC 2006; Flood 2005; Lang 2002; Larsen & Petersen 2001; Memmott et al 2006; Ruxton 2004). Internationally, there is also increasing recognition that men can play a constructive role in combating problems that negatively impact on women and families (UNFPA 2005; also see White, Greene & Murphy 2003).

The men's meetings held in the Northern Territory during 2006 clearly identified that Indigenous men desired to be involved in finding solutions to problems relating to families and family safety (King 2008). They wanted to be involved in the development of ideas, actions and support of other men in their efforts to honour and protect their families. Having received feedback from community consultations that a primary target of any education program about pornography should be men, NT Justice recognised the possibility of tapping into an existing 'pool' of men who had identified they wished to be part of the solution. The series of men's meetings held around the Northern Territory for this education campaign provided a way of reinvigorating interest and accessing a group of men who could actively engage with NT Justice during the development phase. More importantly,

these men could facilitate the dissemination of the campaign message within their own communities, either directly or indirectly.

The engagement of men was also seen to provide an opportunity for them to become empowered in taking responsibility for the wellbeing of their own families, a role congruent with their traditional role within Indigenous society. If successful, this could potentially produce flow-on effects for the involvement of men in other initiatives that address issues such as family violence. It was impossible as part of the review to assess whether the campaign had an effect in this regard. Any changes to the role of men in Indigenous communities engendered by the campaign are likely to evolve over time and with the influence of other factors. However, the early indications are very positive, in that the men's meetings held in Darwin provided a trigger for the development of the 'No More' campaign discussed above.

Women

While men were the dominant focus of the education initiative, NT Justice recognised the need for women to be included as recipients of the education and awareness delivered through the campaign. The campaign developers identified this was important from a number of perspectives:

- Indigenous women had a need and right to be aware of the potential impacts of pornography and other media on children, so they could take actions to prevent harm.

- As Indigenous women are typically the primary carers of children, it was important they understood the media classification system, so they could make informed decisions about children's exposure to media.

- The workshops would provide an opportunity for women to share their concerns about issues such as:
  - media content and its impacts on the community
  - their difficulties regulating what children were exposed to
  - culturally appropriate strategies for managing this exposure

– other related issues that might require ongoing attention and discussion.

NT Justice also identified that it was important that Indigenous women were aware of the broader men's initiative. An awareness of such meetings would minimise misunderstandings that could arise (eg why men were having meetings about pornography). Also, it was considered important that Indigenous women were aware that Indigenous men were taking positive steps towards the protection of children from pornography. Indigenous women had previously voiced their desire to support Indigenous men in this process of community building. Women are unable to acknowledge, support and encourage the steps being taken by men in the community if they are unaware of these efforts.

There was strong enthusiasm among women for the workshops, both prior to, during and after their implementation. There was some interest among women in the development of community-based programs relating to media classification and pornography. As a result of the workshop in Katherine, the presenter was invited to present a workshop in a nearby community. Some female youth workers in Nhulunbuy highlighted an interest in setting up a media classification workshop for young people. Despite the disappointing turnout at the first workshop at Gunbalanya, a community-based family and child worker expressed interest in becoming a trainer in that community. As of November 2008, all seven NTFC Remote Aboriginal Family and Children's Workers were engaged in liaising with, and potentially working with, the campaign. The community organisations and networks that become advocates for this campaign may vary from community to community. While one of the objectives of the campaign was to maintain interest among men, NAPCAN's engagement in community education provided opportunities for cross-fertilisation of issues relating to the protection of children. Namely, as a consequence of the pornography workshops, the presenter was invited to undertake other education initiatives regarding child protection and vice versa.

While the initial consultation supported the targeting of men in this education campaign, it is evident from the strong attendances at women's workshops, and their request for follow-up workshops and initiatives,

that many Indigenous women found the workshops to be relevant to them and their roles in the community. They expressed concerns about a diverse range of problematic sexual behaviours among young girls. This suggests a greater need for women's workshops and initiatives than may have at first been anticipated. If the program is to continue, consideration should be given to running a women's workshop alongside each men's workshop. The content of women's workshops should take into account the unique needs of women as carers and role models and their unique roles in educating their families and the broader community. The women's workshops should also take into account how pornography impacts on young Indigenous females, particularly in light of the apparently increasing use of mobile phones to produce and distribute sexual images of young women and the potential impacts of this on young women's lives.

Despite significant interest in undertaking follow-up actions in many communities, deficiencies in follow-up strategies caused by a lack of ongoing funding have meant that many women have waited an extended period to hear about future outcomes. There is a role for NT Justice in providing training or other forms of assistance to facilitate future outcomes to further the objectives of the education campaign.

Age and clan groups

The workshop was open to all members of the community, irrespective of clan and position in the community. Although this program was aimed at adults, this included individuals who would be regarded as children according to mainstream definitions, but who were regarded as adults within Indigenous contexts (ie initiated males around 14 to 18 years of age). The design of the program was sufficiently flexible to enable individual communities to deal with these issues in their own way. In one community, senior Indigenous people regarded this to be an issue they needed to resolve. In another community, young Indigenous men and older Indigenous men came together. In yet another workshop, senior Indigenous men indicated it was important that male children were informed about these issues and children between 10 to 16 years old were included in part of the workshop. In this

way, individual communities shaped how the message was to be delivered and acted upon.

The issue of avoidance relationships and clan groups is an important one in Indigenous contexts. Where possible, local contacts were used to identify instances where potential conflicts might arise in relation to relationships or clan groups. For example, while the original attention of the program was to hold workshops in a location that had the potential to service all areas within a language group, it became obvious through the delivery of this program that this was not always possible, or necessarily wise, where conflicts between groups existed. It was not possible for some individuals to attend where avoidance relationships prevented this from occurring. If any attempt is made to include local presenters in future iterations of this project or related campaigns, there is a need to consider the impacts of avoidance relationships or clan conflicts and implement appropriate measures.

Community

Throughout the entire process of developing and implementing the education campaign, NT Justice attempted to engage Indigenous people from communities across the Northern Territory. This included:

- conducting consultation workshops across the Territory
- undertaking men's meetings in individual communities across the Territory
- seeking representation from different communities in collective men's groups meetings
- facilitating the development of the Senior Indigenous Men's Group
- implementation of workshops in centres for major language groups across the Territory.

Perceptions about the most important pornography-related issues and problematic sexual behaviours differed between communities. These differences may relate to community's historical and contemporary experiences, the extent to which people follow traditional laws and practices, governance arrangements, physical location, services and infrastructure. Some communities identified that the transmission of pornography

through mobile phones was a major issue, while others talked about pornography being brought in from outside the community. NT Justice workshops were based around discussion that enabled individuals to identify and share concerns and propose solutions that related to their own circumstances. Financial considerations necessarily limited the number of communities in which workshops could be held.

Message

Principles of good practice in delivering sexual health initiatives delineate a number of key attributes of effective messages (Ellis & Grey 2004). These attributes, and the extent to which the NT Justice campaign contained them, are outlined below.

Good practice from sexual health initiatives

Provision of basic, accurate information through clear, unambiguous messages

The NT Justice campaign incorporated a set of clear and unambiguous key messages. While each of these could be examined further in greater detail with workshop participants, most were self evident. These messages provided a focus for more extended discussions, but facilitated abbreviated explanations when required, for example, when the timeframe of workshops had to be shortened.

A series of measures were undertaken to ensure that the information regarding the classification of media accurately reflected laws and practices relating to the classification of media in Australia. A member of the Classification Branch of the Commonwealth AGD formed part of the reference group for the education campaign and attended all the consultation workshops in order to provide accurate information regarding the classification (practical consideration and the relevant laws) of media in Australia. This representative verified the accuracy of information presented in the educational materials. This input was valuable and actually resulted in modifications of the flipchart in the development phase.

Messages are most effective when the content and 'packaging' have been developed with community input through formative research

The messages in the campaign derived from two distinct sources—recommendations from the *Little children are sacred* report and consultation with Indigenous people. The recommendations provided the basic content for the messages, while the consultations informed how the content could best be delivered to the Indigenous target audience. Indigenous input into the construction of the messages was achieved through formal and informal engagement processes.

Emphasising risk reduction rather than promoting abstinence

This criterion is most relevant to sexual awareness and HIV education, where the logic is that rather than promote abstinence of sex, which is unlikely to have long term success, emphasis should be placed on reducing the risks associated with sexual activity. The notion of reducing harm rather than promoting abstinence can also be applied to the use of pornography.

While the NT Justice campaign discussed the laws governing the prohibition of pornography in proscribed communities, the primary focus of the initiative was on the protection of children and upholding the laws in this regard. This approach was mandated by the negative reactions to the pornography signs and the feelings expressed by some individuals that it should be a matter for them to decide if pornography was banned in their community.

At the same time, any future iterations of the campaign should be careful to maintain the message that laws relating to pornography and other classified or restricted media will be enforced and choosing not to abstain from using pornography may be an offence punishable by law. This creates a difference from sexual awareness education campaigns, as decisions around use of pornography may be less a matter for individual, consensual choice. In this way, the NT Justice campaign may be more closely related to harm reduction-oriented substance use campaigns.

Reinforcing clear values/norms

The values and norms endorsed in the NT Justice campaign are in accordance with Australian law, which indicate that no person under 18 years of age should be exposed to pornography. The desire to provide children with nurturing experiences and protection from harmful content are in accordance with the societal values of Australians generally. By delivering the messages in a culturally appropriate way, NT Justice was able to incorporate these values in a way relevant to Indigenous contexts.

Knowledge, perceived risk, behavioural intentions, outcome, expectancies and self efficacy

Assessing the capacity of the NT Justice program to meet these criteria is difficult, as in many cases individuals' knowledge, perceived risk, behavioural intentions, outcome, expectancies and self efficacy are not shared. However, the following points are relevant. The NT Justice workshops were able to impart knowledge about the media classification system, as described in the key objectives established for the campaign. They facilitated discussion about media-related harms (perceived risk). This enabled the Indigenous audiences to delineate for themselves what they regarded as harms. It provided different Indigenous perspectives on the same issues. These may or may not be similar to the harms identified by non-Indigenous people.

A central theme of the education campaign was a focus on changing the perception that the regulation of pornography in the home is the role of the government. By placing this responsibility with parents and carers it contributed to changing participants' expectancies and encouraged self efficacy. The campaign helped make parents aware of their own capacity to provide healthier options for their children and family.

While the campaign focused on problematic pornography use and reducing harm to children, alongside the key messages about the classification system, participants were clearly concerned about the broader issue of sexual behaviours, particularly among young people, which are seen as linked to pornography and other media.

While addressing problematic sexual behaviours is beyond the scope and objectives of the NT Justice campaign, there is a clear need for additional measures. Problematic sexual behaviours manifest out of complex and interconnected personal, environmental, social, socioeconomic and historical antecedents. Adverse pornography exposure is only one of the factors that may contribute to problematic sexual behaviours. Available evidence suggests such behaviours do not arise from pornography exposure alone, but rather, pornography exposure intersects with existent factors to engender harm (Bryant 2009). Addressing problematic behaviours requires the establishment of a foundational knowledge regarding the behaviours in question (eg sexual violence) and the multiple factors that contribute to their manifestation (eg a lack of awareness around sexual issues, acceptance of violence, binding influences of gender norms, among others) and the implementation of strategies that encourage healthy and respectful relationships. Broad-based sexual awareness education and education around sexual violence are most urgently required.

A strategy, if it is to be effective, must consider the unique dynamics or factors that contribute to the manifestation of problematic sexual behaviours in Indigenous contexts, and more specifically, the difficulties that have arisen through historical and ongoing interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Such factors range from trauma through to conflict between systems of law as they relate to attitudes and behaviours. This will require both a more thorough investigation and development of more sophisticated approaches. For example, addressing the issue of underage sex would require a greater understanding of why this occurs and what its implications are in an Indigenous context. While education may lay a foundation, this will likely require a series of additional, complementary intervention strategies. Applying the principles of effective sexual health education strategies, dealing with this issue would require that young people were consulted regarding their needs, concerns and views on possible solutions (cf Ellis & Grey 2004).

Providing some instruction on dealing with social pressures

Although one of the clear messages of the NT Justice campaign is to 'be strong when you see the wrong thing happening', it is unclear to what extent workshops included practical guidance in this regard. The social pressures that may facilitate childhood exposure to pornography have not been documented. Workshop discussions around strategies for managing media use in the home helped participants identify some strategies for managing the social pressures that arise in the home and community. However, it is unclear if this was discussed in sufficient depth as may be necessary to bring about change and empower men and women to deal effectively with all the issues that lead to pornography exposure. For example, the program does not examine how young people deal with social pressures relating to pornography use among peers, particularly through the use of modern communications technology.

Helping participants model and practice behavioural skills

Being a good role model was a central tenet of the NT Justice initiative. The NT Justice workshops included specific examples of what being a good role model involves, encompassed within primary messages of the education campaign. As most of the messages were derived from Indigenous people, most would have been aware of what that meant in their local context. As an education campaign, rather than a behaviour modification intervention, the initiative may not in itself have given participants the resources to develop skills to entirely prevent childhood exposure to pornography (discussed further in the section 'Future directions' below).

More than a single lesson

The NT Justice workshops incorporated a series of succinct messages that built on each other. Resource constraints necessarily mandated that these occurred in a single lesson, though the practice of leaving copies of the flipcharts behind for use in communities may facilitate the transmission of the messages to different audiences and to the same audiences over a period of time.

Other message-related considerations

In addition to the above considerations, there may be other unique factors that impact on

the acceptance of messages within Indigenous communities. Based on his work with the Yolngu people of Arnhem Land, Trudgen (2000) highlighted some considerations of how traditionally-oriented Indigenous Australians receive knowledge and the types of qualities that govern if knowledge is accepted. While not necessarily applicable to other Indigenous groups beyond those the author worked with, they are likely to have at least some general application.

Information must come from a credible source—the owners of the knowledge; information must build on culturally-accepted knowledge and truths

Any information that cannot be corroborated from within an existing cultural base is treated as suspect, requiring that all new information builds on existing, culturally-accepted truths and knowledge. This highlights the importance of understanding differences and similarities in cultural worldviews. The simple messages utilised by NT Justice have resonance across most Indigenous groups and appear, based on the active engagement of workshop participants, to be congruent with culturally-accepted knowledge and truths.

Information must be able to survive intellectual debate

New knowledge is examined and debated within the cultural group to ascertain its veracity, particularly as is relates to culturally-accepted knowledge. Therefore, new knowledge must be intellectually thorough or it will be rejected. If information survives the intellectual debate, then the educational process within a cultural group will start to teach others who were not part of the original educational process. This likely occurs in all cultures but the 'ways of knowing' and the processes used to verify information vary. It also highlights the importance of the piloting and modification process NT Justice undertook for the flipchart, as this helped ensure the information it contained and supported would be accepted by the target audience.

Trudgen (2000) highlights the need to respect the intellectual capacity of Indigenous people. For example, he notes that some initiatives adopted to overcome communication barriers, such as the

use of pictographs, and images in media, such as flipcharts and posters, can generate positive effects. At the same time, he counsels those using such approaches to ensure they are not overly simplistic or based in assumptions of intellectual superiority. Within this context, the NT Justice education campaign appeared able to communicate key messages about the classification system and the potential harm to children from pornography exposure to audience members with limited English language skills. Whether or not it was able to convey sufficient, culturally-appropriate information for participants to formulate an overarching 'picture' of the possible interconnected relationships between pornography and 'problematic sexual behaviours' is not so clear. Yunkaporta (2007) highlights that Indigenous knowledge systems often incorporate ecosystem-like webs of knowing in order to obtain a deeper understanding of abstract concepts. Given the complexity of interrelated factors and issues that link pornography and sexual violence, if the education campaign led to discussions able to stimulate these 'ways of knowing', it could potentially lead to wide-ranging benefits for communities.

NT Justice have noted that while posters erected prior to the workshops may have been useful in informing some people, they do not appear to have been overly effective in stimulating participation, particularly in remote areas. There may be a number of reasons for this. Past government practices and policies have often been patriarchal in nature and have denied Indigenous Australians self agency, in favour of a perspective that they need to be told what to do with their lives. This may have led to resistance among community members to notification or information from government agencies outside the community. Given that the workshops commenced after the NTER was enacted, some potential participants may have felt overwhelmed by, or otherwise reluctant to engage with, government involvement in their lives.

However, consideration must also be given to the possibility raised above that, without context, posters displaying animated figures and simplified captions may not have inspired engagement and may even be perceived as insulting. However, as the flipchart, which used the same messages and design as the posters, was well-received by

participants, the ineffectiveness of the posters may relate more to the particular circumstances in the community at that time and their lack of context. Most community members were unaware of the NT Justice initiative or the involvement of Indigenous people across the Northern Territory in its development. Some may have thought the posters were related to the NTER. Given that the erection of signs referring to alcohol and pornography prohibition on proscribed land were identified as being offensive (Yu, Duncan & Gray 2008), this may have impacted on whether people took notice of the posters and possibly people's willingness to initially engage in the process.

Information must receive peer group affirmation

Trudgen (2000) found that new information received in a community will be debated among all members of the group (not just elders) regarding:

- credibility of the educator
- credibility of the new knowledge
- whether information was delivered in a culturally-appropriate way
- whether knowledge built on culturally-accepted knowledge and truths
- whether it survived intellectual debate.

Notably, even if information is correct and the message is important, it may be rejected because it has been delivered in the wrong way. If it meets all these requirements and receives peer affirmation, then the new knowledge will be accepted, maintained, updated and retaught by a cultural group.

If this interpretation of Yolngu culture is accurate and relevant to the communities in which the workshops were conducted, it suggests information provided through the education campaign may have enduring benefit. It suggests that if you get enough people in attendance, and you get the delivery right, then there may be no need to repeat the message through further workshops. If the education campaign did not meet the criteria, then the information may not have gained traction with the audience. Repeating the workshops or disseminating the same information through other education media may not increase knowledge if the information has already undergone rigorous debate and been rejected.

This discussion highlights the importance for an education campaign that targets Indigenous Australians to acknowledge and be respectful of Indigenous knowledge systems. It also highlights the important role that official program personnel play in communication and the importance of ongoing consultation. Additionally, it is important that any education campaign involves Indigenous people who have a detailed knowledge of local knowledge systems and the need for program personnel to record and document relevant information. Finally, this discussion highlights the need for future evaluations to ascertain from individual communities how information included within the workshops was received and how future initiatives could be conducted.

Importance of the messenger

A critical factor in determining whether a message is delivered effectively is the quality, actual and perceived, of the messenger and the capacity of the messenger to effectively communicate the message to participants. In relation to effective health education initiatives, Ellis and Grey (2004) indicate that there needs to be a full 'buy-in' to the prevention message by the 'messenger' and the involvement of peers and community-opinion leaders. Through post-colonisation experiences, and most relevantly through the NTER ban on pornography in proscribed communities, many Indigenous Australians may have been, or are currently, resistant to messages from governments. As a government agency, NT Justice faced potential barriers to its engagement with participants. It is therefore necessary to critically examine if, and how, NT Justice combated potential resistance to its education campaign and whether the messengers delivering the program were able to effectively reach audiences with the key education and awareness messages.

Messengers in this program can be divided into two categories: the formal presenters of the workshops and the informal messengers, who had the potential to raise awareness of the education campaign and its messages, outside of the individual workshops. Individuals who participated in initial consultations

and community engagement (including Charlie King), as well as community representatives and workshop participants, could all be regarded as informal messengers.

NT Justice presenters: men's workshops

The men's education workshops were presented by Indigenous men. For a number of reasons, this is considered an asset likely to have enhanced the capacity of the presenters to deliver the key messages.

Credibility and connectedness

As Indigenous men were able to talk with participants about their country and family, the presenters gained credibility and had connections and status that helped them achieve greater openness with participants and facilitate communication about sensitive issues. While being Indigenous in itself may not have been sufficient to gain credibility as sharers of information and knowledge, it increased the likelihood that participants would accept the information. As the presenters typically were not presenting in their local communities, this avoided instances where connectedness could prove problematic, such as avoidance relationships or clan conflicts.

Well-established networks

Both presenters were already known in many of the communities they visited through their respective sporting achievements, family connections and previous work in roles that engaged with communities. The presenters were able to draw on this familiarity and their connections to engage with local contacts and secure access to audiences that may otherwise have been very difficult. They brought to their roles a strong awareness of how Indigenous communities function, enhancing their capacity to navigate the often complex 'paths' required to ensure community engagement.

Cultural awareness and worldview

While cultural practices vary markedly between communities, an awareness of culturally-appropriate practices and Indigenous worldviews were advantageous for the presenters. It helped to facilitate engagement, minimise erroneous assumptions and enable the use of language and meaning for which there was, likely, a common understanding.

NT Justice presenters: women's workshops

While an Indigenous woman would likely bring the same qualities to the women's program, the lack of an Indigenous presenter for the women's program was considered by male Indigenous NT Justice presenters to be less problematic, as there is a longer history of Indigenous women engaging with non-Indigenous women from external agencies. Moreover, owing to her existing role as the executive officer for NAPCAN, and prior work in the community sector, the women's presenter had extensive experience as an educator and communicating with Indigenous women regarding similarly sensitive issues. She was also familiar to many service providers in the communities, which helped secure access and engagement.

Perhaps the more critical point is that, in the main, it was not women's behaviours that were being addressed. This is not to say they were any less important, but because it was not Indigenous women's behaviours being challenged, the situation was therefore less confronting. Some Indigenous women may have actually felt supported in this process, as they had been voicing concerns about pornography for some time without any apparent response. Through the workshops, the NAPCAN representative was giving messages that reflected many women's concerns, helping to make the information she gave credible. For the women participants, the Indigenous status of the presenter was likely less important than the opportunity she gave them to voice their concerns to a wider audience. While that was the case for this education campaign, there may be a more pressing need to incorporate Indigenous women presenters in instances where a program is sensitive to, or relevant to, women (eg gambling). Indigenous people need to be consulted in this respect for any further initiatives.

Selection of messengers: attitudes assessment

Individual beliefs about pornography play a very strong role in shaping personal conceptions of its possible harms, interpretation of the relevant evidence, as well as views about how to respond to pornography. To be able to effectively deliver information about the media classification system, particularly pornography and its potential harms, messengers should be non-judgemental and objective. At the same time, they should be able to elicit frank and open discussion by participants who may have strong and emotionally-laden views. This is particularly important if an element of the education campaign is to stimulate community-generated strategies to reduce potential harm from exposure to pornography.

Presenters of the NT Justice program appeared to be aware of many of the complexities around attitudes towards pornography and open-minded in their engagement with the community. All were very much focused on the protection of children and whatever personal views they held on pornography more generally did not appear to be expressed through their work or interfere with their objectivity. However, it would be useful in any future iterations of the education campaign for NT Justice to undertake a facilitated activity for all relevant employees to encourage the expression and 'mapping' of personal views and attitudes. This would allow any views that could potentially interfere with delivery of the key messages to be identified, while also exposing the personnel to the diversity of views that exist and perhaps to an awareness of the strength of their own views.

Other messengers

In addition to the presenters, there were a series of other people who may have delivered messages that supplemented those presented in the NT Justice education campaign, including Mr Charlie King, community representatives (senior men), NT Justice workshop attendees (male and female) and 'No More' campaign participants. It is not possible to assess the effectiveness of these messengers in complementing NT Justice's education initiative in relation to increasing awareness about pornography

and the Australian media classification, although there is clear support for the idea that the community, particularly men, make positive contributions to the protection of children.

Delivery style

The authors of the *Little children are sacred* report noted (Wild & Anderson 2007: 74):

> that at many community meetings, both men and women expressed a keen desire to be better informed about what constituted child sexual abuse and the health, social and legal responses to it. However, people did not want to be talked at. They wanted to be able to enter into a dialogue in their own language through which they could develop this understanding, with information, assistance, support and time being given by the relevant agency to facilitate this process of learning.

The workshop approach adopted by NT Justice broadly reflected this approach. NT Justice adopted a workshop style based on group participatory methods amenable to narrative-based discourses and discussions in the Indigenous language of the participants. This style of presentation enables participants to become aware of each other views on issues, concerns and solutions. Notably, the workshops did not entail simply the one-way delivery of information, but a process in which participants were guided by the facilitator to discuss issues relevant to the education campaign. In this style of delivery, the facilitator may need to fill in gaps, but the message becomes reinforced through the active engagement of the participants and the part they play in contributing to raising issues and considering solutions.

Initially, the workshop style was more formalised and based around working through specific exercises and discussing them. This approach was less successful in more rural and remote settings and accordingly, presenters used a less formal approach to facilitate discussion and interaction. This indicates the presenters were sufficiently flexible to adjust their delivery style to meet the unique needs of their audience.

It was clearly evident that many Indigenous people were unaware of laws governing pornography

exposure among children and extensive discussions often revolved around this issue. This suggests the education campaign had the capacity to address this important knowledge deficit, but further formal evaluation is required to assess the efficacy of the education program in this regard.

While the information provided in the workshops may, to an extent, spread throughout the communities visited by NT Justice, there remains the need for a greater number of workshops in areas where participants were not able to engage with the process for whatever reason. Given the practical difficulties involved in facilitating recurring workshops in remote communities, it may be appropriate for some communities to be given the capacity to run the workshops themselves. This would require funding arrangements sufficiently flexible to enable several people to be trained as facilitators, so that workshops could be conducted without individuals being excluded due to avoidance relationships or conflicts within the community. However, as identified by NT Justice, this may not be possible in instances where the community members regard this type of approach—individuals presenting to their peers—as being culturally inappropriate.

Risk management strategies

It is clear from the communications strategy that NT Justice considered various risks in relation to the model utilised in the campaign. These risks were effectively managed and mitigated throughout the development and implementation of the education initiative. There is one point that is worthy of particular attention, given its implication for to the integrity of the education initiative. This relates to the selection of role models who have criminal records.

Initially, the program hoped to identify 'ambassadors' for the project within individual communities. Selecting the appropriate people for this role could be problematic, particularly if any were found to have a criminal record for violent offences, or had a background that would detract from their capacity to fulfil this role. The approach was subtly changed from the focus on individuals as 'ambassadors' to

involving people selected by communities to act as role models for appropriate behaviour within their community. In the final iteration, the program was delivered by NT Justice personnel and presenters engaged on their behalf. The only people who served as role models were people selected by NT Justice to be the presenters and Charlie King. The NT Justice team was put together on the basis of the members' known history of working with families and children in government, where character and criminal record checks are routinely undertaken. While individuals, selected by individual communities, assisted NT Justice through the organisation of workshops, and in some cases cultural brokerage, they were not responsible for the presentation of any materials. However, NT Justice had some capacity to choose to minimise engagement with particular individuals if there was a suspicion regarding their capacity as appropriate role models. Consequently, risks associated with 'selecting' an inappropriate community representative or role model were mitigated. Individuals within particular communities may subsequently serve as role models, but this is beyond the NT Justice's jurisdiction to monitor. It is essential, as is standard practice, that criminal history/background checks are conducted on all personnel in any future iterations of the program. Consideration of how to manage such risks is required if those iterations are to include community-based initiatives.

Men's workshops

Based on perceptions of the presenters, the most immediate outcomes for the participants of the workshop were:

- an improved knowledge and awareness of the media classification system and classification symbols
- increased understanding of the impact pornography has on children and the community
- commitment to reduce children's access to pornography
- empowering men to take responsibility for controlling access to pornography
- for some, a greater awareness of how modern technologies are being used for the capture, distribution and consumption of pornography

- a greater understanding of relevant laws and penalties. There was a clear lack of awareness relating to these laws in most communities prior to the education campaign.

Men consulted by NT Justice identified an ongoing need for educating the community about these issues.

Women's workshops

Based on perceptions of the presenters, the workshops are reported to have:

- engendered a greater understanding of the media classification system and classification symbols
- enabled women to discuss harms related to pornography and other media
- increased awareness about the laws relating to media classification, in particular it being illegal to expose a person under 18 years of age to pornography
- highlighted for participants the diversity of individual views on what media content is considered to be appropriate
- increased discussion about strategies for protecting children from pornography, other media and related harms
- facilitated discussions about a broad range of media, sexual and community issues

Women were able to discuss these issues in a way that ensured they understood them within their cultural worldview and in a way that allowed their concerns to be heard.

Summary: outcomes of the workshops

Based on information provided by NT Justice, the education campaign received strong support from the Indigenous communities, during both the development and implementation stages. There appeared to be a genuine commitment from participants in the workshops to protect children from inappropriate materials. This included sexually explicit materials and other materials that are not seen as being culturally appropriate (eg influences through popular music, particularly American rap music with violent or sexual lyrics and imagery).

Further, many communities have identified that they would like an ongoing relationship with the NT Government in dealing with these issues. This could be achieved through the ongoing delivery of the NT Justice education program, the development of community led initiatives or assistance in dealing with related issues. There were a number of areas of concern and needs raised during the development and implementation of the NT Justice workshops, including:

- a need for sexual-awareness education, particularly for young men, but also a need for broader-based campaigns that address sexual knowledge deficits in both adult and younger populations
- concern about a broad range of sexual issues, beyond issues of sexual violence, encompassing concerns relating to appropriate sexual behaviours. These include promiscuity, pregnancy at early ages, confusion about the concept of 'consent', overt sexual expressions, alcohol-related sexual behaviours, trading sexual favours and lack of respect for oneself. Many of these issues were seen to revolve around the breakdown of cultural norms and adherence to laws governing sexual behaviours
- concern about a broad range of media. The workshops highlighted that Indigenous participants were not only concerned about pornography, but also a broader range of media they identified as contributing to adverse outcomes for Indigenous communities (eg rap music, SBS, pay television)
- poor understanding of sexual violence. Overall, understandings about sexual violence among participants appeared low. Some attendees had a disturbing lack of awareness of what constituted sexual violence
- a lack of awareness about media technologies. Prior to the workshops, many senior Indigenous people were unaware, and appeared horrified to learn, that pornography can be captured and distributed using readily available technologies, such as mobile phones. The workshops highlighted that Indigenous people are very concerned about, and face genuine difficulties, in dealing with young Indigenous Australians' problematic engagement with these technologies. There have been requests for assistance from

numerous communities. As noted above, elders from the Indigenous community at Ti Tree Creek have specifically asked for assistance from the NT Government to combat mobile phone issues. Similarly, NT Justice has been contacted (through the NTER) by the Marla Leadership Group from Gapuwiyak regarding information and assistance about mobile phone-related pornography. It must be recognised that many of the problems which Indigenous elders are attempting to deal with have not been adequately addressed within mainstream populations. The use of pornography on mobile phones is an issue that has been barely documented, let alone addressed by governments in Australia.

These education and awareness needs are essentially a reiteration of those outlined in the *Little children are sacred* report (Wild & Anderson 2007) and highlight that the concerns and needs outlined in that report are yet to be met.

Capacity to achieve behavioural changes

While achieving behavioural change is not a stated objective of the education campaign, it is implicit from both the triggers underlying the campaign, from the methodologies adopted by NT Justice and from the participants' concerns, that this was a desired, long-term outcome and therefore some comment is required. It is highlighted that while the primary behavioural change sought by NT Justice relates to the adequate regulation and management of childhood exposure to pornography, community members may be more concerned about other sexual behaviours that they perceive as manifesting as a consequence of pornography exposure. If this interpretation is correct, Indigenous communities and governments in Australia may have different views about when educational strategies have met their target.

It is inherently difficult to measure, or even to delineate, behavioural changes that may or might be expected to arise from any educational campaign. First, it is inherently difficult to ascertain the extent to which any education campaign manifests in behavioural change. While theoretically it could be possible to document community engagement and the level of understanding of the media classification

system, measures of participation or understanding do not necessarily translate to changes in behaviour. This has already been established for health awareness campaigns more generally (eg Ellis & Grey 2004; Price 2008; Whitehead & Russell 2004). There are also key aspects of the NT Justice education program that do not easily lend themselves to empirical measurement. As an example, a central theme within the program is the empowerment of Indigenous men to take on a responsibility of ensuring that children are not exposed to pornography.

Second, sexual behaviours, either related to pornography exposure or not, manifest out of complex and interrelated factors and antecedents (eg Bryant 2009; Fisher & Barak 2001). The lack of a clear relationship between pornography and sexual behaviour means that it is not possible to demonstrate clearly whether changes in exposure to pornography result in changes to behaviour. Moreover, the educational aspect of the NT Justice campaign cannot, by itself, address the complex and interrelated factors and antecedents that contribute to problematic sexual behaviours. Even if pornography were completely eliminated from Indigenous communities, other risk factors for specific problematic sexual behaviours are likely to remain. Both the influential aspects of these personal and social antecedents and any damaging pornography exposure can only be removed by dealing with the underlying causes and resolving them. While an approach such as the NT Justice education campaign cannot expect to deal with these underlying causes, it can help draw attention to the issues and seek to minimise the possibility for pornography exposure to intersect with adverse antecedents, thereby potentially reducing harm. There is potential for the NT Justice campaign to contribute to addressing some of the harms arising from pornography use in Indigenous communities, however, there is a need for further initiatives to address the many interconnected factors that contribute both to problematic pornography exposure and problematic sexual behaviours.

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA 2005) has considered how to address health and safety issues around family and sexual violence. It notes the need to address the binding influences of unconstructive gender norms that facilitate inequality

and disrespect to women and prevent men from being genuinely involved in, and deriving happiness from, their roles as valued family members. This is particularly important to consider in this instance, given that the acceptance, use and harms that are attributed to pornography are intimately connected with gendered norms about sex and sexuality. Changing social norms is difficult as there needs to be a critical mass of people who are willing to change and sustain that change. This sort of change requires time, commitment and basic compatibility between the message of change and underlying values and ideas. However, such initiatives are often undermined by scarce or inconsistent support, although useful tips are available on how to engage in this type of process (White, Greene & Murphy 2003).

International experience also highlights that program developers need to be mindful of the unintended consequences that can arise when there is a failure to consider all relevant links between gender and health. White, Greene and Murphy (2003) highlight the unintended consequences that occurred as a result of the haphazard introduction of the Male Motivation and Family Planning Campaign in Zimbabwe in 1993 and 1994. This campaign, which aimed to encourage male contraceptive use, utilised strong male language and images involving local soccer heroes as a way of encouraging this behaviour. This material unintentionally had negative impacts on women. While the men became more interested and involved in selecting family planning methods, they also tended to dominate and even assume full responsibility for the decision, effectively sanctioning and encouraging male-dominant behaviour.

These issues have implications for the NT Justice program. Critically, the empowerment of men in the absence of mitigating measures (eg healing, taking responsibility for one's own actions and acknowledgement of gender equity), may encourage or sanction male-dominant behaviours and unintentionally exacerbate the perpetuation of sexual and other violence (eg Burt 1980; Prentky & Knight 1991; Sanday 1981a, 1981b; Vega & Malamuth 2007). Accordingly, there is a need to consider all gender issues so as to not inadvertently reinforce existing social structures and attitudes that contribute to violence. Factors that are considered

particularly important in achieving the intended results of such campaigns include:

- promoting gender equity and respect
- encouraging individuals to taking responsibility for their own actions, in a 'safe' way
- facilitating holistic healing so that individuals have the capacity to take responsibility for their own actions and engage in equitable and respectful relationships.

It should not be inferred from this discussion that behavioural change cannot be measured or that such measures are not important. Rather, consideration must be given to the way in which those measures are undertaken and interpreted. There is also a need to be realistic in expectations about the degree of change that can be achieved. While one would reasonably expect that this educational campaign would bring about some behavioural change in how people regard, use and manage pornography, it does not necessarily follow that there will be changes in problematic sexual behaviours. Additional education strategies and measures, ideally linked to this campaign, would be required to achieve change in sexual behaviour and related areas of concern.

Implementation difficulties

Despite considered and seemingly thorough planning, events can transpire that impact on engagement with the community. There are many ways in which this can occur. Some of these are discussed in further detail below.

Time and resources

Many of the workshops held during the education campaign and the consultations beforehand were conducted in remote Indigenous communities. In some cases, the project officers had to travel for several days to reach the community. The need to actively seek participation on the day or days before the workshop, despite earlier promotion and notification, added to the time needed for each workshop. This, together with the need to establish key local contacts, and the time and resources needed for the consultations and workshops,

are important considerations for any future iterations of this education initiative (and for other education campaigns in remote Indigenous communities)

Despite this investment of time, some workshops were poorly attended. In one case where the reviewers were able to attend the community with the project officers, the local contact had failed to put up the posters advertising the men's and women's workshops and there was confusion over the venues. In addition, many people in the area were occupied with preparations for a funeral. Despite the efforts of the project officers on the morning of the workshops, no one attended the men's workshop and only a very small number attended the women's workshop. As this community was a full day's drive from Darwin, the project officers and reviewers essentially wasted three days travelling to and from, and staying in, the community. The project officers reorganised the workshop some weeks later and it received much better attendance. This experience highlights the significant investment of time and resources required to undertake face-to-face initiatives across remote Indigenous communities and the practical difficulties involved in successfully implementing them.

Community issues take priority

A challenge for the NT Justice project officers was the way in which community events and issues could take priority over the campaign workshops, regardless of the amount or quality of pre-organisation and consultation. The types of community events and issues that impacted on the delivery of NT Justice workshops were numerous, including:

- *deaths in the community*—sudden deaths of community members due to road accidents or other causes are, unfortunately, not uncommon. It is inappropriate for outsiders to be present in the community during periods following a death and community members are likely to be occupied with matters related to the death. The workshops in one community were cancelled twice due to the accidental deaths of community members, requiring rescheduling of events. A workshop in another community also clashed with a death, which was unknown to the presenters prior to arrival

- *ceremonial business*—in some instances communities will be occupied with ceremonial or other cultural business on particular days or during particular times of the year. While it is possible to plan workshops around known events, ceremonial business may also be conducted at other times. NT Justice attempted to combat this by engaging in ongoing and comparatively frequent contact with communities when scheduling workshops. At least one workshop was rescheduled owing to ceremonial business and another clashed with ceremonial business, which the presenters were not aware of, until arriving in the community

- *'pay day' and other priorities*—certain regular events, such as days when community members receive social security or other payments, become triggers for activities not conducive to conducting education workshops

- *communal events*—as noted above, one women's workshop was poorly attended as it conflicted with the end-of-year school concert. The presenter had not been made aware of the concert when scheduling the workshop.

In each of these instances, poor attendance did not necessarily reflect a lack of interest from the community in the messages of the education campaign or issues related to it. Rather, there were other events or issues that were simply more important at that time.

NT Justice found it was possible to work around these issues in most cases through adequate preparation, including keeping in communication with key contacts or other members of the community, and being flexible about the timing and location of workshops.

While issues around preparation for workshops and the practicalities of implementation are issues for the project manager and project officers, they raise issues for funding this project or related initiatives. Funding arrangements will require sufficient capacity and flexibility to enable modifications to the implementation schedule as necessary and take into account the time, cost and difficulties involved in reaching remote communities. Service providers in the Northern Territory consulted during the course of this review commented on difficulties encountered when

financial administrators demanded rigid adherence to proposed outlays, without consideration of the actual difficulties faced in program implementation in the Northern Territory, particularly in remote communities.

Communication with and within communities

Service providers like schools, general business managers, health services, childcare and sport recreational facilities are potentially useful contacts within communities as they are accessed by many different members of the community. Some of these services are also accessed by residents of outstations or neighbouring communities. As such, there is a high potential for the community to become aware of programs via these services. Nevertheless, the reality often does not meet this potential. A fax may be sent, a telephone conversation may be had where promises about passing the message along are made, but this does not necessarily eventuate. In some cases, service providers may simply be too busy to follow through, but there may also be a degree of apathy in community service organisations that have seen many short term 'fly in, fly out' government programs come and go.

Although multiple measures were put in place to obtain community engagement, communication with and within communities remains a significant challenge for any future iterations of the education campaign. While, in part, this reflects the realities of working in remote communities and the attempts to mesh differing concepts of time and priorities, some of these communication difficulties are avoidable. The authors, perhaps unluckily, witnessed the effects of these difficulties firsthand while attempting to observe workshops. These issues do not relate so much to the NT Justice program, but rather to inherent characteristics of communication patterns among service providers at these locations. Based on observations and discussions with people experienced in working with remote communities, there sometimes appears to be an ongoing lack of awareness among some community-based service providers about events or broader issues in the community. Some service providers may have been unwilling to engage with outside agencies visiting the community and/or there may be a lack

of communication across service providers within the same community.

While it is acknowledged that local service providers may themselves be overworked or have other priorities, this lack of communication is problematic. One of the recommendations of the *Little children are sacred* report is a move away from the 'silo' approach with greater cooperation, collaboration and coordination across local, Territory and federal governments. This requires changes at organisational and community levels.

Key contacts identified by NT Justice through the phases of the education campaign are valuable in this regard. This highlights the need for NT Justice to encourage and maintain the strength of these relationships. While contacts will increase as trust and networks are developed, avenues must be explored as to how to continue to establish connections with communities. In genuine dialogue, there needs to be a two-way exchange of information. It cannot be assumed that key men's contacts are aware of the important role they play in facilitating the coordination of engagement with the community. Consultation with the Senior Indigenous Men's Group may be one way to talk about these issues and identify improved strategies for communication and engagement.

It is stressed that the key contacts should not be asked to fulfil in a role where they are perceived as representatives for NT Justice. Rather, they merely enable the community to be informed that the workshop is happening and perhaps help to spread the key messages. It is a matter for community members to decide if they wish to participate and any actions that might follow. However, people cannot participate if they are not aware an event is happening.

Exhausting and rewarding effective support networks

The *Little children are sacred* report highlighted that Indigenous elders and respected people provide a potentially valuable role in speaking out against sexual abuse, setting appropriate norms of behaviour, participating in community education and awareness, and championing community initiatives to

protect children (Wild & Anderson 2007). Reviews of health programs also note that respected individuals are central to the success of these initiatives (Ellis & Grey 2004). Such individuals have been important components of the NT Justice initiative.

During the implementation, participants in one community raised the issue that respected elders are often under enormous pressure, both from within their communities and from the broader community and government, to find solutions and participate in many different government initiatives. While there are high levels of volunteerism and commitment by Indigenous people, there is a need to recognise that the capacity of individuals and communities vary (King 2008). Placing too much pressure on existing networks of strong and willing individuals may lead to 'burn out' and a decrease in willingness and commitment. There is need to consider, within broader government circles, innovative ways of minimising these burdens while simultaneously maintaining levels of consultation and engagement.

Northern Territory Emergency Response

One major factor that complicated the development and implementation of the NT Justice education initiative relates to the contemporaneous introduction of the NTER, which as part of its initiatives included a ban on pornography in proscribed communities. The exact nature of the bans is outlined in Appendix B. A blue and white sign notifying residents of bans on pornography were erected at the entrance to each community. While the responses to the NTER generally, and to particular aspects within it, often received a mixed response, there were clearly some aspects that were well received by some elements of the community.

There were two main reasons why pornography bans and their associated enforcement (eg erection of signs) were considered problematic.

Signage regarding pornography bans

The signs indicating a ban on pornography were considered offensive by many people. This is encapsulated within the following statement in the 2008 review of the NTER (Yu, Duncan & Gray 2008: np):

Many people highlighted the offensive nature of the NTER signs referring to alcohol and pornography prohibition on proscribed land and felt that it labelled 'Aboriginal people as alcoholics and paedophiles' and strongly urged that the wording of these signs be changed in consultation with communities.

And in submissions made to that review, which indicated people:

are demoralised and being demonised by the media and by the offensive huge blue and white signs at the entrance to many communities and on public highways (Hodder 2008: 1).

Additional concerns related to the lack of consultation regarding the signage and the complexity of information it displayed.

In addition, community members stated that the information displayed on the signs was complex and made little, if any, sense to people for whom English is a second or third language.

Comments were made to the Board about the significant cost for government involved in designing and erecting the initial signage and then having to replace it with smaller less detailed signs—funding that could have been better used had some discussion occurred with the communities first (Yu, Duncan & Gray 2008).

Discrimination

Some participants in NT Justice workshops indicated that it was discriminatory to ban pornography in specific Indigenous communities, while similar bans did not apply to the broader community. Some participants expressed the view that it should be a matter for them to decide if pornography was banned in their community.

Concerns and feelings relating to other aspects of NTER may have compounded these feelings. While it is difficult to measure, the contemporaneous measures implemented during the NTER did impact on the development and implementation of the NT Justice education campaign and probably, to some extent, the effectiveness of that initiative.

Issues around sex, sexuality, child abuse and pornography are invariably sensitive. For Indigenous communities to deal constructively with these issues,

there needs to be an element of openness to allow free discussion (Wild & Anderson 2007). The second critical factor is that the same group of people—Indigenous men—whom NT Justice were asking to step up and become role models for controlling exposure to pornography perceived that they were being judged as paedophiles (King 2008; Yu, Duncan & Gray 2008).

The enormity of the task faced by NT Justice, and the potential consequences of the NTER, can only be considered in light of the historical antecedents. Indigenous men had previously played an integral role in highlighting problems associated with childhood sexual abuse in consultations conducted as part of the *Little children are sacred* Inquiry. They had also come together as part of the 2006 Indigenous men's meetings facilitated by Charlie King. As part of this process, they had voiced their concerns regarding violence and child sexual abuse and the desire to become part of the solution to these problems. However, following these positive steps forward, the NTER was implemented.

The second round of men's meetings undertaken by Charlie King in 2007–08 commenced just as the income management and bans on alcohol and pornography were being rolled out. At the time, there were public discussions about the need for additional prisons to house Indigenous men, as well as local government reforms which would see power taken away from many Indigenous communities (King 2008). Indigenous men were sceptical and disillusioned about the possibility of genuine dialogue (King 2008). Despite this, the desire of Indigenous men to be part of the solution in relation to violence and child sexual abuse remained. Through the NT Justice facilitated men's meetings, Indigenous men again voiced their desire to be part of the solution (King 2008).

Many people, both in Indigenous communities and broader society, do not necessarily distinguish between policies implemented at state/territory and Commonwealth levels of government. At times, NT Justice representatives were initially assumed to be part of the NTER. There was often a need for NT Justice presenters to distance themselves from the NTER in order to engage communities. The presenters explained they didn't want to see anyone arrested due to lack of knowledge about what the 'blue sign' out the front of the community actually meant. Bans on pornography and alcohol and the broader impact of the NTER were commonly raised in workshops. Nevertheless, despite the obvious concern about the NTER and its impact on the community, community involvement was strong, highlighting that communities were willing to engage in a constructive manner about these issues.

The discussion above highlights the need to adopt a holistic approach to Indigenous policy. The approaches adopted by one level of government have flow-on effects for other levels of government attempting to deal with the same or similar issues. It is noted that in response to the release of the review of the NTER, the Australian Government indicated it would maintain controls over pornography, while placing a greater emphasis on community development and community engagement (Macklin 2008). More recently, a government discussion paper highlighted the possibility of 'allowing for community input and individual requests to be assessed in determining whether bans on alcohol and pornography should continue (as opposed to blanket bans)' (FaHCSIA 2009). The need for consultation prior to any changes being implemented is reiterated here, as it is important to ensure that the positive steps taken in individual communities as a consequence of the NT Justice initiative are not undermined or negated during such a process.

Lack of ongoing funding

NT Justice was limited by financial constraints in the extent to which it could roll out this campaign. This impacted on its ability to secure ongoing engagement with Indigenous communities. For example, NT Justice was contacted by some other communities to undertake a workshop in their local area but could not make plans for further workshops due to funding limitations. The need and rationale for additional funding to allow ongoing initiatives is discussed in subsequent sections.

Given that NT Justice received over $500,000 to undertake this education campaign, it is pertinent to ask *was this a good use of resources?* The answer is yes, but some qualification and discussion is required.

It is acknowledged that the intensive nature of the workshop implementation, vast distances, remote

locations, and the unpredictable nature of community events, contributed to high travel costs. Any education or awareness campaign operating in the Northern Territory and involving face-to-face delivery through personnel visiting remote communities will face similar costs as an unavoidable component of working in remote locations across such large distances. Should the program receive ongoing funding, the initial financial outlays for the consultation phase of the program and the development of the flipchart would not have to be repeated. However, funding would have to accommodate the high travel costs and provide sufficient resources to cover program evaluation. An evaluation methodology would have to be incorporated into the program design and conducted throughout the program implementation.

There is capacity for improvement. There are multiple interrelated educational needs around the issues of violence, sexual violence and pornography. The most obvious are sexual awareness education and education around sexual violence. Understanding of sexual violence, and healthy sexual behaviours, to some extent, underpins awareness around pornography and influences the potential for behavioural change. The likely effectiveness of the NT Justice pornography awareness campaign is partly contingent on education in these other areas. Hence, a greater return on investment in the pornography awareness campaign, and better outcomes with regard to problematic behaviours, would likely be achieved if there was an integrated approach to education and program delivery. This does not necessarily mean that all programs should be delivered by the one group, but rather that delivery of information is coordinated in a coherent, staged, developmental and integrated approach. This could be accomplished through centralised coordination of programs and campaigns, or by those developing and implementing them in a decentralised fashion being aware of other initiatives, reflecting them in development and implementation and communicating with those responsible for other initiatives.

Other considerations

Communication

As a result of their extensive consultation with the Indigenous community, NT Justice assembled a considerable body of knowledge in relation to program delivery, engagement with individual communities and matters relating to community concerns about sexual behaviours and pornography. It is important that this knowledge, which has been shared by Indigenous people, benefits Indigenous people in the future. While this review was able to capture some of this information, there is an ongoing need for NT Justice to document program development and delivery in detail. This includes systematic recording of positive and negative aspects of initiatives or outcomes, lessons learned and feedback received from the community. It is essential that as staff move on, this information is retained, so the process does not have to start over again. This type of information is also essential for the ongoing monitoring and evaluation (internal and external) of any future iterations of the campaign.

There is also a need to work at a government level to facilitate interagency communication and responses. For instance, telecommunications authorities should be made aware of the issues and concerns around mobile phone use and subscription television services. Guidelines on parental monitoring of children's telecommunications use are published by the Australian Communications and Media Authority and are available on the internet, but these are not necessarily accessible to most people in remote communities.

If Indigenous people's needs are to be met, there may also be a role for NT Justice in developing further initiatives to address the pornography-related issues and concerns raised by workshop participants. Similarly, NT Justice needs to be informed of measures undertaken in other departments to ensure consistent and complementary messages are delivered. Facilitating this level of communication is in keeping with the recommendations of the *Little children are sacred* report, which states the need for a genuine whole-of-government approach based on cooperation, collaboration and coordination across local, Territory

and federal governments to address child abuse and other issues (Wild & Anderson 2007: 55).

Ongoing monitoring and evaluation

Should the NT Justice education campaign continue, or related initiatives be developed, there is a need for funding arrangements to provide sufficient resources for thorough evaluation of the outcomes. While this process review has used available information to examine the process and efficacy of the approaches adopted by NT Justice, there is a real need for a proper evaluation that engages with Indigenous people in individual communities. This should aim to assess the extent to which the initiative measurably contributed to improved knowledge and behavioural outcomes and identify areas where additional support or education is required. One way of achieving this might be to include in the program design a series of built-in measures that would enable NT Justice to capture the information needed for evaluation as a component of the implementation phase.

Stanley, Tomison and Pocock (2003) highlight the need for increased understanding and accommodation of Indigenous cultural perspectives in research. They suggest the development of culturally appropriate collaborative partnerships, with Indigenous communities sharing ownership of the research and service provision process. These objectives could be achieved through participatory research approaches, like that adopted for the Yarrabah Men's Health Group plan in Queensland (eg Tsey et al 2002).

Review conclusions

NT Justice, using extensive consultation and engagement, have developed an innovative education campaign. Development and implementation of this program was largely in accordance with both good practice principles for the implementation of Indigenous specific programs and evidence-based criteria for the implementation of effective sexual health education programs.

The review has shown that the education campaign has the capacity to meets its objectives. NT Justice

followed a process that allowed it to gain the input of a diverse range of Indigenous Australians and take their views and needs into account in developing and implementing the campaign. The materials used to communicate information central to the plan were developed with Indigenous input and with regard to Indigenous cultural perspectives and means of communication. Flipcharts used in the workshops allowed key messages of the campaign to be clearly communicated to a broad range of workshop participants, regardless of their levels of prior understanding and knowledge, formal education and fluency in the English language. The key messages of the education campaign were clear and straightforward and framed in a way that allowed them to be effectively communicated through messengers with the required qualities to facilitate the message being received by an Indigenous audience.

The NT Justice education campaign provided Indigenous Australians with a unique and valuable opportunity to gain knowledge and understanding about legal and social issues potentially impacting on their daily lives. It provided Indigenous Australians with important information that it is their right to have but which may previously have been largely inaccessible to them. It is apparent that there was community interest and the workshops created the opportunity for increased awareness regarding pornography. The workshops also gave participants an opportunity to discuss issues that had concerned many of them for some time but which they had not previously had an opportunity to express.

A central objective of the campaign was to encourage Indigenous adults to take responsibility for reducing the exposure of children to pornography and its potential harms and to empower parents in exercising these responsibilities. Whether these outcomes have been maintained since the workshops, and whether they have led to changes in attitudes or behaviours, is not possible to determine within the scope of this review. However, the review does indicate that these outcomes have the potential to produce a degree of change.

A key determinant of the success of the education campaign was its capacity, provided through project staff and presenters, to be flexible and adaptable to

changing needs and circumstances. It is apparent that delivering face-to-face programs to remote Indigenous communities presents a unique set of challenges, quite different from those affecting mainstream programs. The delivery model for the campaign and the approaches of the presenters allowed the campaign delivery to be modified and adapted to rapidly changing and unanticipated circumstances. In some cases, modifications to the implementation schedule resulting from unforeseen circumstances or competing priorities in the community had resource impacts that, together with the high level of resources required for program or service delivery in remote areas, need to be factored into any future funding arrangements.

This review was not able to assess outcomes from the education program. At the time of writing, the campaign was coming to the end of its two year initial funding period. Aside from the practical difficulties noted above, two years is not long to develop, implement and determine the effectiveness of the campaign. The campaign's potential outcomes, in terms of raising awareness around the key messages and achieving related aims, are too broad and the number and distance of remote Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory too large for effectiveness to be achieved and measured in two years. It takes time to raise awareness and to change attitudes and behaviours at a community level. A community development project of this nature would require a longer period, perhaps five years, before effectiveness could be properly determined. However, a mechanism to measure the knowledge gains, and future educational requirements of participants, should have been built into the program during its development phase. This is a requirement for future iterations of the program.

Nonetheless, the NT Justice media classification awareness education campaign may represent an innovative approach to community education. The conclusions in this review suggest that the continuation of the campaign is worthwhile and that the education campaign model should be rolled out into other Indigenous communities, particularly those in remote areas.

If the campaign is to be continued, there are ways in which its capacity to meet its objectives could be further improved:

- As most of the consultation during development of the campaign was with Indigenous men, further consultations should be held with Indigenous women to ensure the campaign materials and approaches meet their needs.

- Consideration should be given to the full development of a separate women's workshop with content and mode of delivery specifically adapted to the needs of Indigenous women.

- Women's workshops should be held alongside all men's workshops.

- Further workshops for men and women should be conducted in communities and locations not covered by the initial campaign, together with repeated workshops in communities covered in the initial campaign.

- Information materials, in the form of pamphlets, posters and perhaps multimedia materials, should be produced for ongoing retention and use by communities, together with the current practice of leaving copies of the flipcharts.

- Attempts should be made to establish ongoing key contacts within communities who could accept responsibility for making sure information materials are available in accessible places within the community and distributed to community members from time to time.

- Efforts to maintain contact and communications with key persons in all communities where workshops are to be held should continue, to minimise the possibility of workshops being disrupted by reasonably foreseeable community events or circumstances.

- NT Justice should ensure that thorough records are maintained for all aspects of future program development and implementation. These records should be suitable for purposes such as audit, review, evaluation and replication of the program by future personnel.

- Efforts should be made to link the education campaign to other initiatives and activities that will increase its capacity to empower Indigenous people in reducing the exposure of children to media-related harms and to which the campaign can provide complementary benefits.

Other possible future directions for initiatives in the area of pornography and sexual violence are discussed in the next section.

Future directions

The NT Justice program has taken an innovative and crucial step in disseminating information and increasing awareness around its key objectives. However, these workshops should be regarded as simply laying the foundation for ongoing dialogue and action, rather than being a completed exercise. The reasons for this are many.

Restricted roll out

The number of communities that could effectively be reached in this program was limited by financial considerations. Many Indigenous people in the more remote regions of the Northern Territory have not had the opportunity to attend NT Justice workshops. More remote communities not accessed by the campaign are perhaps the least likely to have access to conventional information regarding media classification and perhaps least likely to have been privy to broader societal discussions regarding media-related harms.

Ongoing need

Some communities have identified a desire to see the program return. There is a need to consult with Indigenous communities engaged in the current

initiatives to identify the desired nature of ongoing initiatives.

The process takes time

As noted, the modelling of appropriate behaviours, addressing underlying issues relating to pornography exposure and addressing potentially problematic behaviours (including those relating to the use of pornography), all require time to bring about sustained change. Moreover, time is required to establish sufficient trust between NT Justice and Indigenous people to instigate broader-level changes. It is likely that the workshops have largely tapped into groups of concerned individuals. These will mostly, although not exclusively, be individuals who already recognise the potentially harmful impacts of childhood exposure to pornography and wish to bring about changes in community attitudes and behaviour.

It may take longer for a larger body of support to be established. The prevention of pornography exposure is not a simple matter and preventing pornography-related harms is not simply a matter of restricting access to pornography. The problems surrounding pornography exposure and potential harms are complex. Solutions may involve challenging existing ways of thinking about and

regulating information. It will necessarily take time not only to recognise these problems, but also to find culturally-appropriate ways of dealing with them.

Successful health promotion strategies are multifaceted

Reviews of evaluations of health promotion strategies for other sexual behaviours highlight that the provision of information in a single workshop or intervention is generally ineffective at bringing about individual or community changes in sexual behaviours (Ellis & Grey 2004). The integration of information takes time. It requires a process that includes not only comprehending the knowledge, but ascertaining the relevance of that information to one's own behaviour and the behaviour of others in the community. It requires building sufficient awareness, understanding and impetus to bring about behavioural change.

If communication about an issue is ongoing, it is more likely to be perceived as important by the recipients. This is particularly important in an environment where there are contradictory messages being received, such as in the somewhat different messages inherent to the NTER and NT Justice initiatives. Adopting a staged approach with the information, or elements of it being restated at different times, enables existing knowledge to be built upon. To be effective, each reiteration should reflect feedback from individual communities about specific areas of concern.

Complementary strategies

Active attempts to prevent exposure to pornography and its harms have natural limits on the capacity to protect vulnerable individuals and prevent the problematic behaviour. Both problematic pornography use and the harms attributed to it are interconnected with the complex historical and social antecedents that have contributed to poor outcomes for Indigenous people. The complexity of these factors demands that solutions

are sufficiently multifaceted to take into account the genesis of potential harms and identify complementary strategies to reduce them. As discussed previously, many of these requirements, including diverse education strategies, programs to address issues relating to violence and the social factors that underpin them were outlined in detail in the *Little children are sacred* report (Wild & Anderson 2007). There remains a need for education and awareness campaigns to address this broader range of issues.

Insufficient knowledge and resources

Although many Indigenous people are concerned about the impacts of pornography on their children and wish to protect their children from harm, they may be restricted in their capacity to bring about effective changes. Many feel that they are powerless to stop their children from engaging with media in ways that they identify as being problematic. Many factors likely contribute to this, including intergenerational differences in values and knowledge. People living in urban areas typically possess a strong understanding of modern technologies and how to access information. There is often an assumption that these technologies and information are equally accessible to all Australians, however this is not the case for many Indigenous people.

Existing strategies suggested for managing pornography exposure are not necessarily congruent with Indigenous ways of parenting, or take into account the unique contexts that contribute to pornography exposure among children in Indigenous communities. There is a need for Indigenous Australians to be involved in developing strategies matched to their needs.

Ongoing support for Indigenous men

Through the men's meetings conducted before and during development of the education campaign, Indigenous men identified further areas of support they needed to be fully empowered as part of the solution to reducing violence (King 2008):

Men's spaces—these are spaces where men could go to get support and help, to share stories and work out ways of resolving issues. It may also include a safe house where men could go while they work through issues with a professional. Such facilities have been established in a number of communities as part of the NTER.

Early intervention services—many men have inadequate understandings of child abuse, sexual assault and domestic violence and are unaware of how they can respond to child abuse or family violence in their community. Indigenous men identified a need for education and parenting strategies and a need to map and articulate pathways for responding to abuse in the community. Programs that link in with young men through football and other sports are recognised as important and non deficit-based ways of engaging with this sector of the community, although prior caveats should be noted.

Leadership—Indigenous men identified the need for a clear process to identify and promote local role models rather than bringing in external 'stars', recognising that men can accept the responsibilities of leadership if there is recognition and reinforcement from the community.

Supporting men in these positive ways is both directly and indirectly relevant to the prevention of problematic pornography exposure and for the prevention of problematic sexual behaviours. Empowering Indigenous men to effectively deal with issues relating to violence will have positive flow on effects for broader community wellbeing, particularly as it relates to the criminal justice, health and educational outcomes.

Sexual-awareness education

There is strong evidence that the potential harms of pornography exposure are exacerbated when foundational knowledge regarding respectful sexual relationships is compromised. Adolescents may encounter problems if they experiment with sexual behaviour before they have received sufficient sexual-awareness education (Rosenthal & Peart 1996). Studies suggest that individuals who have little sex education are more likely to be influenced by sexually explicit media than those who have been raised with greater sex education (eg Gunter 2002; Malamuth & Billings 1986).

A lack of awareness about sex, sexuality and sexual relationships may be interrelated with pornography in several ways. Individuals with inadequate information may turn to pornography as a source of information about sexuality. While providing a great deal of information about the mechanics and diversity in sex, it is not necessarily a good source of information on real or respectful sexual relationships. Similarly, individuals who feel insecure about their own sexuality may turn to pornography as a way of learning; assisting them in gaining greater confidence. While this in itself may not manifest in adverse outcomes, when it is combined with other factors such as acceptance of violence, dominance or rigid beliefs about sexuality, then the needs or desires of that individual may be placed before the rights of another, manifesting in outcomes ranging from disrespect through to serious sexual assault.

Sexual knowledge deficits are relatively common among adolescents who have committed sexual offences against children (eg Whittaker et al 2006). Critically, sexual experience does not necessarily translate into knowledge about positive sexual relationships. Young people who engage in sexual activity at an early age, who are sexually active over a longer time or who are more actively sexually, appear to experience more unwanted sexual behaviour (eg Vicary, Klingaman & Harkness 1995). However, this interpretation is complicated by the observation that victims of sexual violence commonly engage in sexual activity at earlier ages and tend to have more sexual partners in a given time frame (eg Luster & Small 1997).

What constitutes adequate education?

Critically, any education about sex must be holistic, addressing not only the mechanics of sex, but also the broader aspects of sexual relationships, such as gender and power relations, sexuality, and rights and responsibilities, in a way that incorporates young people's understandings of their sexual knowledge (Allen 2001; Bay-Cheng 2003; Byrne & Fisher 1983; Measor, Tiffin & Miller 2000; Schaalma et al 2004). In this instance, a positive sexual relationship refers to sexual relationships which have the capacity to lead to healthful outcomes (ie ones in which there is respect for, and nurturance and growth, of self

and others). Therefore, it is better to use the term 'sexual-awareness education' in preference to 'sex education', which is often misinterpreted as information relating to the mechanics of sex, safe sex and pregnancy prevention.

One of the principal roles and responsibilities of parents and society is to provide children with sufficient physical, emotional and mental resources to become healthy adults. Engendering them with sufficient resources to become sexually healthy adults is one of those responsibilities. More commonly, sex education is perceived to be a necessary strategy for regulating problematic sexual behaviours. That is, sex education is viewed as a preventative strategy for actual and perceived problematic behaviours, as opposed to being important solely for enriching the individual's life experience.

The question of whether sex education is a successful means of achieving sexual behavioural 'control' is a hotly debated subject (eg DiCenso et al 2002; Graham 2003; McKay et al 2001). Some sex education programs appear to have limited impacts on behaviour (eg DiCenso et al 2002), although this may relate to:

- the source and nature of sex education
- the lack of relevance to the problem it is trying to address
- the type of sexual behaviour
- the methods used to evaluate effectiveness (eg McKay et al 2001).

Reviews of sexual education campaigns indicate that school-based sex education can be effective in reducing some risky sexual behaviours among adolescents (eg Ellis & Grey 2004). However, several key factors must be considered in implementing adequate sexual awareness education, including:

- addressing the underlying factors that contribute to the problematic behaviour, rather than just the specific behaviour
- adequately addressing young people's concerns
- being multifaceted.

Addressing young people's concerns

Survey research undertaken by Mission Australia found that many young Indigenous Australians felt they did not have sufficient information regarding issues of importance to them, including sexuality and sex (Mission Australia 2008). Existing sex education programs are often criticised by young people for focusing on the clinical and biological aspects of sex at the expense of emotional, social and cultural aspects. Identified deficiencies in these programs related to failure to discuss issues like desire, emotions, love, attraction, relationships, communication (including consent and negotiation) and non-sexual ways of showing affection (eg Abraham 2005; Aggleton & Campbell 2000; Gowen 1996; McKay & Holowaty 1997; Sauers 2007). As noted by Sauers (2007: 107) '[b]y Year 10, most students will know how to put on a condom, but they may not know how to vocalise their resistance if they just don't want sex'.

The *Little children are sacred* report highlights that often children lack a basic understanding of what does and does not constitute acceptable sexual behaviours and norms (Wild & Anderson 2007). Abraham (2005) notes that erotic and pornographic sources gain legitimacy when young people's concerns about sexual pleasure and desire are not addressed. Mastery of the social aspects of sexuality and sexual relationships are important for long-term wellbeing. As requested by young people, sex education must be sufficiently complex and holistic, taking into accounts needs beyond the physical act of sex.

Many of the issues raised by young people as barriers to healthful sexual practices are unlikely to be addressed in existing sexual awareness programs. Double standards exist regarding the sexual behaviours of boys and girls, largely irrespective of culture. Therefore, there is also a need to challenge the gender-based norms that contribute to problematic outcomes for both young males and females (UNFPA 2005). Sexual awareness education must be sufficiently diverse to address these social aspects of sexual relationships.

Education is multidimensional

Children acquire information and knowledge about sexual matters from many different sources including parents, peers, media and sex educators. Considerable research has been devoted to attempting to understand the relative impact of each of these sources, both to identify potentially harmful sources of information and how best to implement

sex education strategies. As already noted in relation to peer socialisation and pornography exposure, the way children integrate information from these sources and its influence on behavioural outcomes is complex. As an example, Wood et al (2002) found that while 13 to 16 year olds indicated that friends and sex education teachers were perceived to provide the most information, adults were perceived as providing the most accurate information. Friends were perceived to have the greatest influence on dating choices. This study highlights disparities between the sources of sexual information that are considered accurate and those that are adopted. Even though young people recognise that peers/ friends are not necessarily the most accurate sources of information, young people will turn to peers about dating.

However, this study also revealed gender-based differences (Wood et al 2002). Girls reported receiving more information on dating from all sources, perceived parents and the media to be more accurate sources of information and were more influenced by parents in their choice of dating partners. Boys were more likely to rate their dating partners and dating behaviour as a source of information about dating. The reliance of peers/ friends as a source of information and as a source of accurate information about dating increased as children became older (Wood et al 2002).

The results also highlight a potential role for trained peers in delivering sex education in classrooms. In the United Kingdom, there are a number of peer-led sex education programs (eg Mellanby et al 2001). The results of an evaluation of peer-led and adult-led school education indicated that peers were more effective in establishing conservative norms and attitudes related to sexual behaviour than adults, but peers were less effective than adults in imparting factual information and getting students involved in classroom activities.

Little is known about where Indigenous children receive sexual information, or the value that they place on each the sources. Identifying this is an important step in developing appropriate sexual awareness strategies.

Begin early and use a staged approach

To protect young people, the basic foundation for sex and sexual relationships must be in place before dating and sexual relationships begin. As group-level interventions are most effective if they consist of more than a single lesson, a staged approach is required, with individual lessons being targeted and tailored to the development of the child (Ellis & Grey 2004). Interventions must begin early and continue over a substantive period to ensure that developmental needs are met.

Northern Territory Indigenous communities

Wild and Anderson (2007) found that Indigenous communities are willing to work with their school and health clinic to deliver appropriate sex education in schools, believing that the combination of senior community men and women, teachers and health clinic staff was the proper combination to deliver sex education. Both male and female senior members of the Indigenous community spoke to the Inquiry about morality and the need for young people to be taught again about values and issues surrounding 'womanhood' and 'manhood' (Wild & Anderson 2007). This need has been further reiterated in the workshops conducted by NT Justice.

While adequate knowledge about sex and sexual relationship is important for the entire Indigenous community, literature reviews highlight two areas of particular need—young males and adults more generally. Charlie King, referring to the NT Justice consultation workshops, said:

> We have heard that young women are being able to be given some sex education by their aunties and mothers and so on but no evidence of boys getting sex education, and as a result of that, they are using as a point of reference these videos and these magazines (cited in Barker 2007: np).

Increasingly, life skills and healthy relationships courses are becoming available for adolescents, but this does not address the problems associated with a lack of sexual-awareness education among adults. This is important from several perspectives.

Parents are generally regarded as accurate sources of information about sex and relationships (Wood et al 2002). However, they cannot act in this role if they themselves lack knowledge or confidence in this area. Literature reviews and NT Justice workshops highlight that owing to disruptions to culture,

including but not restricted to the separation of children from their community during this critical phase of their life, many current Indigenous adults did not themselves receive adequate sexual-awareness education. A lack of confidence and perhaps knowledge, has likely contributed to inadequate, and in some cases problematic, sexual-awareness education among children (eg pornography is used as an educative tool). In the absence of this information, young people may themselves resort to alternative sources of sex education, like pornography. Within an Indigenous context, it may be highly problematic to provide sexual information to children without providing the same knowledge and opportunities for adults. Moreover, to provide this information to children and not to adults may undermine 'hierarchies' relating to knowledge and respect in many Indigenous cultures.

Consideration must also be given to where young people go to seek advice (not specific to sex). Mission Australia surveys indicate that overall Indigenous young people (11 to 24 years of age) most commonly sought advice from friends (79%) followed by parents (62%) followed by a relative or family friend (52%) (Mission Australia 2008). While, overall, Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth seek advice from broadly similar sources, differences are evident. Australia-wide, Indigenous youth were more likely than their non-Indigenous counterparts to seek information from the Internet (25% as compared to 20%) and from community agencies, particularly youth workers (24% Indigenous, 10% non-Indigenous) (Mission Australia 2008). While this may not be representative of Indigenous youth in remote regions of the Northern Territory, and findings do not necessarily relate to information sources relating to sex and sexuality, it highlights the importance of fully investigating where young people seek out their information. Differences in information seeking linked to culture, location and socioeconomic circumstances will also be important considerations in the context of determining effective approaches to information dissemination.

The men's workshops conducted by NT Justice included discussion about sources of sexual information. These workshops were not intended to provide detailed information about sex or sexual relationships and the need for sex education workshops remains. Sexual-awareness education

should be considered as a possible future component of the NT Justice initiative. In developing any such initiative, it would be very useful to include input from Indigenous young people in the target areas on what they see as important information to be included—whether the workshops are directed at young people or an older audience.

An issue to be aware of in considering any sexual-awareness education is that it may be perceived by some to be 'sending kids the wrong messages about sex', and leading to the encouragement of early sexual initiation and promiscuity. This is a concern expressed by some parents from all cultures. Reviews of programs conducted in the United Kingdom suggest there is no increase in sexual activity with school-based 'sex education' (Ellis & Grey 2004). Obviously, any sexual-awareness education strategies must be culturally appropriate and developed and implemented in consultation with Indigenous people.

Sexual-awareness education in schools?

Most sexual-awareness strategies are school based, but for Indigenous communities this approach may need to be re evaluated or at least complemented. Wild and Anderson (2007) described sex education for Indigenous children in Northern Territory schools as being either non-existent or inconsistent and short of qualified teachers willing to engage with young people about these matters. While improvements to existing school-based education programs would be beneficial, the programs may not reach a large part of their target population due to what has been very low rates of school attendance seen in many Indigenous communities. This is an issue being addressed in a variety of ways by the federal, state and territory governments. Children exposed to inappropriate media through lack of parental supervision or who have been abused or experience home environments impacted by alcohol misuse or violence are perhaps the least likely to be attending school, but also perhaps the most in need, as these issues likely exacerbate both the risk of pornography exposure and problematic sexual behaviours.

Parenting

An objective of the NT Justice education campaign was to give participants an awareness of the

responsibility of parents to control children's exposure to pornography. However, some individuals may not have the parenting skills to facilitate adequate preventative strategies. Effective parenting skills are central the development of resilient, healthy children. They are also essential to the prevention of problematic pornography exposure and the manifestation of harmful sexual behaviours. There is increasing recognition of the diversity and strengths of traditional child-rearing practices in raising children who are independent, self reliant and confident (eg Ban et al 1993; Batrouney & Soriano 2001; Malin, Campbell & Agius 1996; Smith et al 2003; Waltja Tjutangku Palyapayi Aboriginal Corporation 2001; Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS Project Team 2002). However, the historical and social circumstances of many Indigenous Australians have inhibited their capacity to pass on or practice these systems of parenting. There are many Australian parents, including young Indigenous parents, who require assistance in gaining better parenting skills (eg SNAICC 2004). Many of these parents may not themselves have received adequate nurturing, were subjected to violence and abuse, and may technically have been children themselves when they became parents. Therefore, the lack of good quality parenting may go back several generations. Other preoccupations, such as gambling or alcohol and substance abuse, as well as being in unstable or informal relationships, may also contribute to some Indigenous parents not looking after their children effectively (eg Smith et al 2003).

Inadequate parenting skills have also been identified as a critical factor in the exposure of children to pornography in Indigenous populations in the Northern Territory (Wild & Anderson 2007). Parents play an integral role in both the prevention of pornography exposure and in the prevention of problematic sexual behaviours. Foundations built through parenting impact on the likelihood of engagement with pornography, the way the individual engages with pornography and their resilience or susceptibility to engaging in particular problematic behaviours. While this may not be within the scope of any future NT Justice initiatives, it is important to acknowledge this as an area of need.

Greenfield (2004) outlines a number of generic strategies that can help prevent problematic outcomes from media exposure. These include:

- *maintain an open family communication style* — studies by Bryant and Rockwell (1994) indicate that an open family communication style affects the moral judgements made by 13 and 14 year olds of sexual portrayals of non-marital sex on video (characteristic of pornography on peer-to-peer, file-sharing networks)

- *be open to discussing sex with your children* — children raised in families where sex is treated as taboo may be more likely to be influenced by sexually explicit media than children raised in homes where it is permissible to talk about sex (Gunter 2002; Malamuth & Billings 1986)

- *maintain a warm and communicative parent–child relationship* — this is more important than communicating about specific sexual topics (Miller, Benson & Galbraith 2001)

- ensure that your child gets sex-awareness education

- *discuss media experiences with your child* — among girls, fewer discussions about media with parents is associated with greater sexual experience (Peterson, Moore & Furstenberg 1991). If a child has been exposed to pornography, it is important to discuss this in an open manner

- *watch media with your child* — parents who watch media with their child are able to discuss content, removing or mitigating negative impacts of antisocial media (eg Singer & Singer 1986). Clearly, it is illegal to watch pornography with your child.

There is however a need to be mindful of the unique situations that arise as a consequence of the interaction of aspects of Indigenous and non-Indigenous culture. The structuring of content on television is inherently geared to non-Indigenous ways of parenting, in which children are typically given a timeframe for 'bedtime'. The authors have been advised that in some remote communities, children decide for themselves when to go to sleep and often stay up watching television long after their parents have gone to bed. Therefore, owing to the way content is structured, children may be exposed to inappropriate materials. This may (or may not) be an extension of the traditional Yapa and Anangu practice of giving young children almost complete freedom to choose and demand what they desire while they learn their specific obligations and

responsibilities and encouraging them to behave in unselfish and compassionate ways (Penman 2004). While it may have been possible to tolerate such levels of freedom in traditional contexts, it is clearly problematic in situations where there is the possibility for essentially unrestricted access to all types of media, including pornography. Therefore, it may not be a lack of parenting skills but an incongruence between existing parenting approaches and the realities of an environment in which there is a free-flow of information.

Media education

Adults

The NT Justice workshops highlighted the poor understanding among many older Indigenous people regarding the modern media environment and the ever increasing ways that media can be consumed. Such generational differences in technological usage are also evident among non-Indigenous Australians, but may be exacerbated in Indigenous populations owing to remoteness, a lack of resources and/or lack of engagement. In contrast, younger Indigenous Australians, like their non-Indigenous counterparts, show a greater tendency to be technologically savvy. This generational gap in engagement with media technologies may have contributed to a lack of awareness among otherwise concerned adults about how these technologies are being used. While the workshops were able to bring this to the attention of participants, a lack of proficiency with current media technologies, and a lack of engagement in broader society about 'protective strategies' associated with these media technologies, will hamper the effective regulation of media. Indigenous people face substantial difficulties in implementing culturally-appropriate strategies if they do not know how specific technologies work. There are several key areas where adult education about media technologies may be required including:

- how to set up a child lock on adult subscription television channels
- strategies for managing children's mobile phone use, including access to sex chat lines, access to the Internet via mobile phones and appropriate behaviours regarding the capture and dissemination of content via mobile phone

- strategies for managing children's internet use (eg parental monitoring, internet filtering) and the limitations of those strategies. While internet access in remote communities remains limited, this will change and as it does so education needs to be available
- the capacity for integrated media devices like MP3 players to store, view and transfer pornographic content.

Children

There is a need for education strategies aimed directly at children and adolescents, in addition to those aimed at parents (Ybarra & Mitchell 2005). This includes education relating to the internet, mobile phones and media more generally. Given that issues around mobile phone usage are generally less well documented than those relating to the internet, a longer discussion regarding these issues is required.

Mobile phones

For the majority of adolescents, and increasingly younger children, the mobile phone is the preferred means of communication. While the mobile phone is a very useful tool, there can also be problematic aspects associated with its usage, as highlighted in a survey of Finnish children (see below). While cultural differences will exist, and the level of mobile phone among children may be higher in Finland than in Australia, some similarities in problematic usage have been noted.

In 2006 a survey was undertaken of 17,848 Finnish children aged seven to 15 years of age (Save the Children Finland 2006). The survey found that almost all respondents (98%) within this age bracket had a mobile phone. Although this was primarily used for chatting and texting, almost half (47%) used the mobile phone for accessing the internet. An additional 61 percent reported using their mobile phone for taking pictures (76% of these did so at least once a week). For 27 percent of respondents, taking photos was the principal use for their mobile phone. Although taking photos with the mobile phone was most widespread among 13 to 15 year olds, 39 percent of seven to nine year olds and 58 percent of 10 to 12 year olds also used their phone for this purpose. While this is not an inherently

dangerous or inappropriate activity, the survey also demonstrates that mobile phone cameras are, not uncommonly, used in ways that are potentially problematic.

Notably, 28 percent of all participants in the Finnish survey had posted their photos on the internet (44% among 7 to 9 year olds). While this commonly involved posting photos for friends and family, 32 percent of children reported knowing of at least one person whose photograph had been posted on the internet without permission. Again, while this may be innocuous, 46 percent of the Finnish sample knew of someone who had sent a photo of themselves to someone that they had only met on the internet. In addition to the unintended consequences that potentially may arise, modern technologies like mobile phones and the internet have provided new opportunities for children to subject others to bullying and harassment (eg Campbell 2005; Drennan 2008). Twenty-eight percent of children sampled had received photos or messages intended as bullying but only about one-quarter (27%) of those told their parents, with another one-quarter telling no one. The latter was particularly evident among 10 to 12 year olds and more common among boys than girls. Thirty-five percent of boys in the study reported telling no one about being bullied. Mission Australia (2008) found that bullying was ranked in the top three concerns for 26 percent of Indigenous respondents and 22 percent of non-Indigenous child respondents.

In some cases, mobile phone and internet use extends beyond bullying into sexual harassment. Photos can be taken of people in compromising positions without their knowledge and forwarded as a means of bullying. Photos or videos initially taken or provided with consent may then later be forwarded onto others, typically when the relationship dissolves. Even more disturbing are documented cases where a sexual assault has been recorded and distributed via mobile phone.

Many children are clearly unaware of safety issues surrounding mobile phone use. However, they are also unaware about the broader social consequences and legal ramifications. Education is necessary for all Australian children regarding these issues.

Ongoing dialogues

While there are many areas which require ongoing discussion, there are two that have become particularly apparent during the course of this review.

Sex, sexuality and relationships

Attitudes to sex, sexuality and relationships have changed markedly over time—particularly in the last few decades—bringing markedly differing views regarding what constitutes 'appropriate' sexuality within society. For Indigenous Australians, these differences are influenced by cross-cultural considerations and perspectives. Navigating these differences may be especially hard for young Indigenous Australians attempting to bridge both cultural and generational divides.

Unique problems can arise when aspects or beliefs from one culture are combined with, or clash with, the beliefs of another culture. There is a need for ongoing and non-judgemental discussion about the nature of differing beliefs systems regarding sex and sexuality and how young people can effectively negotiate a healthy sexual identity. This process can be assisted by focusing on unifying concepts or beliefs such as respect and rights and responsibilities that largely exist irrespective of culture.

Laws governing sexual behaviours

Laws and rules (legal or social) regarding sexual behaviour are inherent to all societies, although differences are apparent. In Australia, the criminal justice system has the responsibility of ensuring that the 'formal' laws relating to sexual violence, pornography etc are enforced. However, parents, family and society also may 'enforce' a number of other rules regarding appropriate sexual behaviour. One clear issue for Indigenous people is to be educated on, and adhere to, Australian 'formal' laws, while maintaining and supporting traditional laws and customs (Wild & Anderson 2007). The nature of rules governing sexual behaviour and the relative responsibilities and jurisdiction of formal law structures, as opposed informal law structures like family, vary across cultures. Differences in the nature of traditional Indigenous law structures and the breakdown of traditional law structures over time pose difficulties for Indigenous communities.

This is particularly difficult when understandings, or perceptions, of existing law structures are compromised. In submissions to the NT Board of Inquiry into sexual abuse, it was highlighted that many teenagers no longer saw themselves as being bound by the 'old ways' and perceive the modern world as 'lawless'. This is further demonstrated in the following submission:

> At present a lot of people do not take the white fella law seriously. At the same time many people, particularly the young, do not respect the Yolngu law. We have a situation close to anarchy where neither law is followed (Wild & Anderson 2007: 175).

This is compounded when understanding of the law is derived from popular culture and observing the behaviour of non-Indigenous people, 'which leads to a contemporary vision of law that is completely different from the mainstream statute law' (Wild & Anderson 2007: 72).

While perhaps beyond the scope of any future NT Justice initiatives, there is a clear need for ongoing discussion to enable reconciliation of these differences to achieve understandings that facilitate the development of healthy sexual attitudes and behaviours, as is demonstrated in the following submission to the Inquiry:

> There needs to be a real dialogue between these two systems of law so we can move away from the colonial mud slinging and find some real answers to real problems. Of course this will mean that there needs to be some true communication between these two systems of law (Wild & Anderson 2007: 175).

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Appendixes

Appendix A: campaign materials

This appendix includes examples of flyers used to promote the meetings and workshops conducted through the campaign and the flipcharts used during the workshops.

Example of workshop promotional flyer

Tennant Creek - Children and Pornography Workshop

Date: Monday 13 August 2007.
Venue: Tennant Creek Hospital, Education Room
Time: 8.30 – 11.00am

The Department of Justice will be convening 5 Workshops across the Northern Territory to introduce issues surrounding Pornography in the Northern Territory. The primary issues are to understand the classification system for books, videos and magazines and that under 18 people must not have access or view X rated material. Venues and dates are as follows:

- Alice Springs   7th August
- Tennant Creek 13th August
- Katherine   14th August
- Darwin   20th August &
- Nhulunbuy   27th August

The purpose of the workshops are to inform stakeholders of the issues surrounding pornography and ascertain who should deliver the program, what should be included in the program and who the primary targets should be. The issue of pornography in Indigenous communities was raised as a recommendation in the Little Children are Sacred report and it has also been raised as an issue by the Commonwealth.

Given that the target group will be mainly Aboriginal people, it is proposed that Indigenous persons will deliver the program. How that program will be delivered, what the principal issues are and what resources will be required need to be ascertained at these workshops.

There will be a number of speakers attending who will be able to provide information that will assist in developing the framework for the education program:

- Allan Van Zyl from Dept of Justice will outline the reasons why the workshops are being conducted.
- Lesley Taylor from NAPCAN NT will be discussing children's issues
- Charlie King will be discussing issues affecting Indigenous men, and
- Roman Micaran will be outlining the various pornography classifications proposed.
- Supt David Pryce – NT Police re enforcement issues

In basic terms we need to know what you think about how we can best do the education campaign in Indigenous communities.

Please contact Lesley Taylor on 0419808959 for any queries about these workshops or to confirm your attendance.

Example of men's meeting promotion flyer

LARAMBA SPECIAL MENS MEETING

MEET CHARLIE KING ON TUESDAY 22ND JANUARY

He will discuss:

- to empower men to take on responsibility for their families

- assist other men in family violence

- help men have a greater understanding of child abuse

- issues of pornography and sex education

Meeting is followed by a bbq

Northern Territory Department of Justice:
Australian media classification awareness flipcharts

Classification for Films and Literature

classification for films and literature.

- All movies & some magazines must have a classification

- These symbols show you who can watch the movies or read the magazines

- These symbols also show which movies and magazines are illegal

- You can use these symbols to know what movies and magazines are ok for kids to see and which are bad for them

- Sometimes pornography is so bad it is not allowed to have a classification, this is Refused Classification and is illegal everywhere in Australia

General

Parental guidance recommended

Recommended for mature audiences

UNRESTRICTED

MA 15+ RESTRICTED — Not suitable for people under 15. Under 15s must be accompanied by a parent or adult guardian

R 18+ RESTRICTED — Restricted to 18 and over

X 18+ RESTRICTED — Restricted to 18 and over

UNRESTRICTED
M (Mature)
NOT RECOMMENDED FOR READERS UNDER 15 YEARS

RESTRICTED CATEGORY 2
NOT AVAILABLE TO PERSONS UNDER 18 YEARS

RESTRICTED CATEGORY 1
NOT AVAILABLE TO PERSONS UNDER 18 YEARS

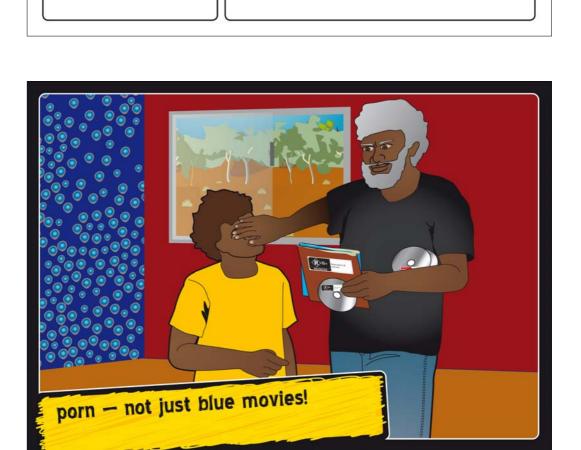classification for films and literature.

**Porn –
not just blue movies!**

- Porn – it's not just blue movies, it's some magazines as well
- Parents and family members are responsible for what kids watch and read
- Make sure kids DO NOT see pornography.

porn – not just blue movies!

Healthy TV and magazines can be fun for the whole family.

healthy TV and magazines can be fun for the whole family.

- Families can sit together watching TV or movies that are suitable for all of them
- Some movies like Shrek, Finding Nemo

healthy TV and magazines can be fun for the whole family.

Know what your kids are watching. Some movies can make them sad or scared.

Know what your kids are watching. Some movies make them sad or scared.

- It is important to know what your kids are watching and reading when parents or family are not there
- It is illegal for kids to watch blue movies
- When kids watch blue movies or aggressive or angry movies it can make them feel bad.
- It can make kids feel sad, angry or even scared.

Know what your kids are watching. Some movies make them sad or scared.

No porn in communities with this sign

no porn in communities with this sign.

- It is illegal for persons under 18 to have access or view any R and X rated film or printed material and there are penalties

no porn in communities with this sign.

**There are big penalties
for showing porn to kids**

- Police and child protection can take action if you are caught showing porn to kids
- It is child abuse to show kids pornography

there are big penalties
for showing porn to kids.

Be strong when you see the wrong thing happening
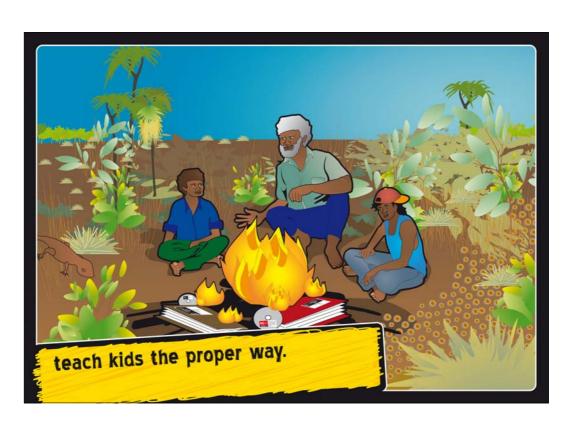

be strong when you see the wrong thing happening.

- We are all responsible to protect our kids from things that can harm them
- Let kids learn from good role models in your community and not TV actors
- Don't let other people, even family, show kids pornography
- Tell them why it's important to keep kids away from blue movies and magazines

be strong when you see the wrong thing happening.

Teach kids the proper way

teach kids the proper way.

- As parents or elders, it is your responsibility to teach kids the proper way
- Don't use blue movies or magazines to teach kids about sex and relationships
- Teach kids about respect and love for yourself, family and community

teach kids the proper way.

Appendix B: Australian Government information on pornography bans

Following is a copy of information relating to pornography bans put in place under the NTER, as taken from the FaHCSIA website http://www.fahcsia.gov.au/sa/indigenous/progserv/ntresponse/about_response/law_and_order/Pornography_bans_penalties/Pages/default.aspx

Pornography bans and penalties

As part of its Emergency Response to the situation in NT Indigenous communities, the government is implementing measures to reduce the prevalence of pornography in communities.

Changes to the *Classification (Publications, Films and Computer Games) Act 1995* create new offences for possessing pornography within areas covered by the emergency response, or proscribed areas, and for supplying pornography into those areas.

Bans on pornography began on 14 September 2007.

Pornography banned in proscribed areas

Level 1 prohibited material—Category 1 Restricted and Category 2 Restricted publications, unclassified publications that would be likely to be classified Category 1 Restricted or Category 2 Restricted publications, X18+ films, unclassified films that would be likely to be classified X18+ and prohibited advertisements

Level 2 Prohibited material—refused classification (RC) films, computer games or publications and unclassified films, computer games or publications that would be likely to be classified RC.

Level 1 prohibited material may contain content of a sexualised nature, for example X18+ films contain real depictions of actual sexual intercourse between consenting adults.

Level 2 prohibited material may depict, express or otherwise deal with matters of sex, cruelty, violence or revolting or abhorrent phenomena in a way that offends against the standards of morality, decency

and propriety generally accepted by reasonable adults to the extent it should not be classified. The sale, display or exhibition of RC material is illegal across Australia.

Proscribed areas

The bans apply to proscribed areas which include Aboriginal land under the Land Rights Act, community living areas and areas, including those known to be town camps, that the Minister declares to be proscribed areas.

Offences

It is an offence to possess, control, supply or transport banned material in a proscribed area. This ban applies no matter where the material is being supplied from.

A heavier penalty applies to possession of Level 2 prohibited material.

People who supply five or more items of banned material could face a $22,000 fine or two years imprisonment.

'Supply' is defined to capture material provided to a person in a proscribed area, regardless of whether there is a commercial aspect to the transaction.

Police powers

Under the new laws, police may seize and destroy material found within a proscribed area, where a police officer suspects on reasonable grounds that it is prohibited material.

Police powers to enter and search premises are provided for under the *Crimes Act 1914*, that is, they may do so with a warrant or with consent.

Seized material may be returned to its owner if the responsible police officer, or a magistrate, is satisfied on reasonable grounds that it is not prohibited material. If the material is not returned, it may be forfeited to the Commonwealth for destruction or disposal.

Commencement

The changes to the Classification Act and the new offences, commenced on 14 September 2007.